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**BRITISH JEWISH HISTORY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF BRITISH HISTORY 1840 - 1995**

ANNE J KERSHEN B.A. M.Phil. FRSA

**A Context Statement and Publications submitted to
Middlesex University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy by Published Works**

**School of Humanities
Middlesex University
September 1997**

PUBLICATIONS SUBMITTED

Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London 1872-1915, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1988.

'Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds, 1872-1915', in D. Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990.

Uniting the Tailors, London, Frank Cass, 1995.

Off-the-Peg, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1988.

'Morris Cohen's Contribution to the Women's Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End', in *Textile History*, 28 (1), July 1997, pp. 39-46.

'Yiddish as a Vehicle for Anglicisation' in *Patterns of Migration, 1815-1914*, A. Newman and S. Massil (eds), London, Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996, pp. 59-68.

* * *

150 Years of Progressive Judaism in Britain, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1990.

'Convenience or Ideology? The Origins of Reform Judaism in Britain' in *The Jewish Quarterly*, Summer 1992, pp. 55-59.

Tradition and Change: The History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995 (specifically Part One), London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995, pp. 3-127.

* * *

'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth: Men of their Times', in G. Alderman and C. Holmes (eds), *Outsiders and Outcasts*, London, Duckworth, 1993.

'The Jewish Year Book 5657 (1896): A Defence of British Jewry?', in *The Centenary Facsimile of the First Jewish Year Book*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1996.

* * *

'The Jewish Community', in N. Merriman (ed.), *The Peopling of London*, London, the Museum of London, 1993.

'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis and the Spirit of Capitalism in Spitalfields', in A.J. Kershner (ed.), *London The Promised Land: The Migrant Experience in a Capital City*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1997.

'Higher Education in the London Community', in R. Floud and S. Glynn (eds), *London Higher*, London, Athlone Press, February/March 1998.

**BRITISH JEWISH HISTORY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
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CONTEXT STATEMENT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I should like to thank Professor Geoffrey Alderman for his guidance and support as my supervisor during the preparation of this Context Statement, at all times accessible and approachable his help has been invaluable. I should also like to thank Professor Ken Young and Professor Wayne Parsons for encouraging me to proceed for a doctorate by published works and for the interest they have shown during its preparation. Thanks are also due to my colleagues in the Department of Political Studies at QMW, most particularly to Dr. Diana Coole and, beyond QMW, to Rickie Burman, Professor Robin Cohen, Dr. John Eade, Dr. Andrew Godley, Professor Colin Holmes, Dr. Denise Jones and Marlena Schmool who readily provided information on works in progress and others due for publication. My thanks also to Professor Todd Endelman who, as a result of the wonders of modern technology - email - readily entered into debate. QMW librarian Eilis Rafferty is deserving of special thanks for conjuring up books at a moment's notice and answering my every request with interest and speed. As ever my thanks to Professor Bill Fishman for his encouragement.

I am most grateful to Professor Richard Andrews of the School of Education at Middlesex University for his explanations of the guidelines for this submission and to Dr. Jennifer Mayor for her patient support and guidance during the compilation of this work.

Finally, my thanks to my husband Martin who, as always, has been the strength and motivation behind my work.

Anne J Kershen
London
September 1997

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SUMMARY

This essay is a context statement in critical defence of my submission for the degree of Ph.D by Published Works in keeping with the requirements of Middlesex University as laid down in the Guidance Notes dated April 1996. The underlying theme of the submission is that my published works¹ serve to illustrate my belief that it is imperative to locate British Jewish history² within the broader framework of British history. Thus, I have not limited my research and writing to one issue, event or section of British Jewish society, rather I have sought to develop a historiographical style which exemplifies the way in which individuals, groups and events, within and beyond the framework of Anglo-Jewry, interface and interact. Historical phenomena do not occur in a vacuum and it is imperative to understand what is taking place beyond the perimeters of ethnicity in order to fully comprehend both immigrant and receiving societies' actions and responses. In my most recent works I have taken this one stage further with the recognition that, in what is increasingly a multi-ethnic society, it is vital both to locate British Jewish history within that of the wider British immigrant/settler experience and to see it as a constituent of specific communities in order that comparisons and contrasts can be made and, where possible, lessons learnt.

1. INTRODUCTION 1875 - 1986

Placing the origins of the submitted works within an historiographical and personal context.

1.1 1875 - 1950

Over the past forty years modern Anglo-Jewish historiography has undergone considerable change. What began as a movement away from the standard celebratory, apologetic and defensive has now, at the close of the twentieth century, arrived at the confrontational, proactive 'warts and all', having gone through a number of stages in between, including the arrival on the scene of professional historians,³ a number based overseas.⁴ It has become fashionable of late to criticise early Anglo-Jewish historians such as Picciotto, Lewis and Roth. Though arguably much of that criticism is justified, critics should bear in mind that analysis should take account not only of the work itself but, in addition, the time frame in which the writer was researching and publishing.⁵ For example, Picciotto⁶ published only four years after Jewish emancipation and almost a decade before the impact of increased immigration from eastern Europe became central to contemporary debate.⁷ H Lewis,⁸ in conjunction with C. Russell, was carrying out research into East End Jewry on the cusp of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and at the height of anti-alienism. Indeed Russell's chapter in their jointly authored *The Jew In London*, was commissioned by Toynbee Hall in response to fears of a possible outbreak of anti-semitism similar to that taking place in Europe.⁹ Russell undertook an empirical evaluation of the Jewish presence in East London. His conclusion, which stressed that the threat of anti-semitism had been exaggerated, highlighted other positive and negative factors. He identified the gulf between English and 'foreign' Jews, praising the former for being 'ardent patriots'¹⁰ whilst criticising the latter for 'having made no contribution to the country's economy' in spite of their[the alien Jew's] 'love of profit'.¹¹

Harry Lewis, an advocate of immigration control,¹² adopted a defensive stance, arguing that the immigrants' displayed an intense loyalty to their new homeland.¹³ He sought to take the heat out of accusations made by English trade unionists that the foreign Jews, as a result of their preparedness to work for the lowest rates of pay in appalling conditions, were taking the jobs of Englishmen. Whilst the Jew might be prepared to work long and hard, Lewis argued that, unlike his native counterpart, he rarely permitted his wife out to go out to work,¹⁴ thereby balancing the job market. Recent historians, including myself, have shown that the idealised concept of the Jewish household arose from the myth created by spouses, members of the Jewish clergy and the Anglo-Jewish élite who wished to perpetuate the image of the domesticated Jewish wife. In reality many Jewish working class women were employed in a variety of activities¹⁵ in order to supplement, or wholly maintain, the household budget.

Lewis's emphasis on the part played by nationalism and patriotism in the rising tide of anti-alienism in East London was way ahead of its time. Writing in the early 1970s neither Bernard Gainer nor John Garrard paid much attention to this aspect of the movement for immigration control, preferring to stress economic and domestic pressures. In Colin Holmes's 1979 *Anti-Semitism in British Society* we can detect hints of eugenicist and jingoistic debates,¹⁶ but the stress is on the domestic and economic ills resultant from the aliens' presence. A more balanced argument is to be found in David Feldman's chapter in *Metropolis London*.¹⁷ In my account of the passage of the 1909 Trade Boards Act which appears in *Uniting the Tailors*, I correlate the issue of sweating and the Jewish worker with contemporary debates on eugenics.¹⁸ It is this dimension of the immigrant presence which I believe to have been a major catalyst in the formulation and implementation of the Aliens Act, tepid though that Act may have been.

Cecil Roth's *History of the Jews of England*¹⁹, which Professor Alderman has characterised as a 'public relations history'²⁰ was published during the early years of the Second World War when the fate of Jews in other parts of Europe, if not fully comprehended by their co-religionists in Britain, was known to be precarious.²¹ Although not in the same vein as more recent works, Roth's whiggish history was, he suggested at the time, intended to locate Anglo-Jewish history within a British framework, albeit one which allowed little space for the mass immigrant arrival of the late nineteenth century. Roth's brief reference to the immigrants was veiled in sympathetic tones. He considered them to be of 'humbler social status' than assimilated British Jewry, and as a consequence would find the process of 'acclimatisation ... less simple'.²² Keen to promote the positive elements of the immigrant presence Roth depicted the aliens' entry into the tailoring trade as one which created a 'revolution in the life of the working man',²³ a hyperbole which is corrected by William Hamish Fraser in his book *The Coming of the Mass Market* and by myself in *Uniting the Tailors*.²⁴

Roth devotes less than one page to the event which rocked British Jewry in 1840 and held the attention of both the English and Jewish press - the schism within established Anglo-Jewry which resulted in the birth of Reform Judaism in Britain. Roth makes a direct link with the emergence of Reform Judaism in Germany and its counterpart in England. The former he believed, correctly, to have been a response to the Enlightenment and the demands of citizenship. Yet he assumed that the driving force behind the creation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews was the struggle for Jewish emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century. Implicit in this is the assumption that West London's main *raison d'être* was to counteract any doubts that a religious Jew could not also be a loyal Englishman. It was not until 1995, with the publication of Kershen and Romain's *Tradition and Change*, that the

diverse nature of the origins of British Reform Judaism was subject to intellectual analyse.²⁵

Whilst the early historians referred to above might have erred on the side of sanitised history we should (and some do) express a degree of sympathy and understanding when making assessments.²⁶ In many ways the more recent British Jewish historians owe their predecessors a debt of gratitude for having provided them with a *raison d'être*.

1.2 1950s - 1960s

It was not until 1954, with the publication of Vivian Lipman's *A Social History of the Jews in England*, that the lower echelons of England's Jewish population came under the microscope of a historiographer.

Lipman readily admitted that his approach, that of the amateur, was statistically biased and more concerned with those institutions which had provided the support mechanisms for the post 1850 immigrant communities of London and the provinces than with concepts and individuals. His was not intended as a definitive work but one which he hoped would 'stimulate more qualified scholars to use the material ... as a starting point.'²⁷ His success can be gauged by the frequent appearance of his name in the footnotes of other historians. Lipman was conscious of the lacunae in his work; he produced no more than half a page on the origins of Reform Judaism and only a very brief outline of the structure of the tailoring trade and just a summary of Jewish trade union activity.²⁸

Lipman was aware of the need to go beyond Cecil Roth's earlier work. He kept in touch with changes taking place in the field of Anglo-Jewish historiography and subsequently wrote *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, an overview of the 'Jewish community and of groups within the community' in the years between 1858 and 1939.²⁹ It proved to be his final work, he died in March 1990, before the proofs had been run. In his Introduction, Lipman cites my publications on the tailoring trade.³⁰ His legacy to me was the incentive to publish a more detailed study; this

came to fruition in 1995 as *Uniting the Tailors*. It is clear from my submitted works on the clothing industry and Reform Judaism that his stimulus paid dividends.

It is Lloyd Gartner's *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*³¹ which first appeared in 1960, which has to be recognised as the seminal work on eastern European immigrants in Britain. Though the approach was new to British Jewish historians Gartner was following the American school of immigrant history.³² Gartner set out to locate his history 'within an English background',³³ a resolution which at times he appears not to have maintained. For example, he fails to locate the Jewish tailors' strikes of 1888 in Leeds and 1889 in London within the context of the those held by dockers, match girls and gas workers which heralded the emergence of 'new unionism' in England. It is a connection I clearly identify in *Uniting the Tailors*.³⁴ In common with Lipman, Gartner draws attention to the 'many lacunae' in his book. As in the case of Lipman, these words and the work, proved to be the catalysts which encouraged me to 'fill the gaps' and to question Gartner's assertion that 'Jewish immigrants made no unique contribution to the English economy'.³⁵ The monograph *Off-the-Peg, Uniting the Tailors*, and the recently published article in *Textile History*, 'Morris Cohen and the Origins of the Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End' provide evidence to the contrary.

1.3 1970s

The decade of the 1970s was one in which the seeds sown by earlier Jewish historiographers began to bear fruit. Two dedicated amateurs, Chaim Bermant and Israel Finestein, continued the work they had begun earlier. In 1971, Bermant published his biographical account of the 'Cousinhood',³⁶ the élite dynasties which controlled British Jewry until the Second World War. *The Cousinhood* has been a resource and starting point for the particularist professionals who have followed in its wake,³⁷ the book's concise 23 chapters an open invitation for in-depth research. In

his chapter on the 'Great Schism',³⁸ Bermant manages in eight pages to touch upon the rumblings of religious discontent that were to be heard amongst Anglo-Jewry in the early years of the nineteenth century, the birth of the West London Synagogue of British Jews and its failings and the theology of the Synagogue's first Minister, David Woolf Marks. The brief chapter closes with a glimpse of the emergence of Liberal Judaism early in the next century. Further interest in British Jewish religiosity was manifested by two American scholars of the 1970s. In 1973, Stephen Sharot examined religious change within the London Jewish community.³⁹ However the article was restricted to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with emphasis placed on the Anglican nature of British Jewish religious practice. Little space was devoted to the emergence of Reform Judaism. This omission was to some extent redressed by Robert Liberles's article on 'The Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England' which appeared in the *AJS Review* three years later.⁴⁰ Liberles's focus was emancipation-centric and though of value, ignored other more valid reasons for the birth of Reform. The origin of Reform Judaism was taken up again in articles which appeared in the 1980s, but the brevity and bias of these works cried out for further research and analysis.⁴¹

The works of Israel Finestein straddle the decades of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s, culminating in a collection published in 1993.⁴² Not surprisingly for someone whose 'day job' was that of a barrister and subsequently Senior Crown Court Judge, the emphasis was on the legalistic elements of British Jewish history. Finestein saw Anglo-Jewish history very much as part of the broader canvas upon which the changes resulting from industry and empire were taking place. In fact the effects of industrialisation and Britain's colonial expansion cannot be divorced from any discussion of Anglo-Jewish, and immigrant, life in nineteenth century England. Finetein sought to measure how far Anglo-Jewish attitudes and actions were in response to modernity and how much manifestations

of assimilation and acculturation. These issues are central to the emergence of Reform Judaism in Britain, and are dealt with both implicitly and explicitly in the first four chapters of *Tradition and Change*.

But the 1970s was the decade when professional historians, both American and British, took control of Anglo-Jewish history. The formulation and implementation of the Aliens Act was examined by Gainer and Garrard who interpreted native responses to the arrival of the immigrants in the language of aggression and disaster - invasions and floods. (It is perhaps worth noting that the language of immigration history is distinctly aquatic.) Both works laid foundations for later, more specific, explorations of the immigrant experience. One who took up the cudgel of specificity was W.J. Fishman. A child of the Jewish East End ghetto he sought to place that immigrant experience within a political framework.⁴³ Fishman, building on Gartner, chronicled the rise and fall of Jewish anarchist activity in the years between 1876 and 1914. Just as any account of the successes and failures of political ideology in the Jewish East End cannot ignore the Jewish worker so any history of trade unionism during the same period, and in the same place, has to encounter socialists and anarchists.

The closing years of the decade saw another arrival on the scene of British Jewish history. Todd Endelman, in his book *The Jews of Georgian England*, brought a transatlantic perspective and training⁴⁴ to British Jewish historiography, seeking, as he said, to produce an analytical, rather than narrative, account of English-Jewish history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵ As Professor Gartner, so Endelman did use the objective eye of the non-European. One might question the pros and cons of history written from the outside; British Jewish history written by the non-Jew or by the Jewish-American is conceived without the baggage born by the 'insider' who cannot avoid

subjectivity.⁴⁶ But is there the danger that the outsider will miss the subtleties, hidden traits, strengths and weaknesses only the insider comprehends? Endelman provides an eighteenth century British Jewish history that exposes the realities of Jewish life in England at that time. The reader is introduced to the interaction of English aristocrat and affluent Jew⁴⁷ and to the criminal activities of those lower down the social scale.⁴⁸ The book also signals the discontented rumblings of Ashkenazim and Sephardim that led to the birth of Reform Judaism in Britain and contrasts this with what was taking place in Germany at the same time.⁴⁹ However the story of Reform Judaism in Britain is not one Endelman chooses to tell either in the *Jews of Georgian England* or in his subsequent work, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656-1945* which appeared in 1990.⁵⁰

1.4 Into the 1980s

The 1980s saw an explosion of Anglo-Jewish historiography.⁵¹ This was not solely due to the influence of British Jewish historians. Other factors were at play, for no account of the changes taking place in the 1960s and 70s, particularly in relation to immigrant and labour history can ignore the works and impact of pioneers such as E.P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm and Bill Williams.⁵² It was at this point that my interest in Anglo-Jewish labour history began. My initial intention had been to focus on the role played by eastern European refugee intellectuals in the development of the English trade union movement. My reading of those who had written on the history of English trade unionism such as Henry Pelling, the Webbs and Hugh Clegg⁵³ and the small amount which had been produced on the organisation of Jewish labour in England,⁵⁴ backed up by Ezra Mendelsohn's *Class Struggles in the Pale*,⁵⁵ informed me that it was a thesis with no future. The eastern European intellectual refugee input into English and Jewish trade unions during the latter years of the nineteenth century was minimal. It became apparent that my energies had best be spent elsewhere, thus between 1982 and 1986 I researched

and wrote my M.Phil. dissertation on trade unionism amongst the clothing workers of London and Leeds between 1872 and 1915. At the end of 1986 the thesis was submitted for the degree of M.Phil and awarded same; no viva was felt necessary.⁵⁶

At this point I found myself with a considerable quantity of original archival material, concepts and themes which had not been employed in the writing-up of the dissertation. I was determined to revise, supplement and extend my M.Phil. and embark upon a publication strategy which would enable me to expand my research parameters and, whenever and wherever possible, explore new fields. In this I benefited by having been a part of the 'informal Jewish history group'⁵⁷ which met in the first half of the 1980s and which was led by Bill Williams. Amongst its members were Rickie Burman, David Cesarani, Brian Cheyette and David Feldman. The success of our debates on the future direction of Anglo-Jewish historiography can be judged by the publications that followed.

My professional roles since 1986 have both influenced and aided my research and publications. These include being trustee of the London Museum of Jewish Life between 1986 and 1995, and now a member of Council of the newly created Jewish Museum London, (the result of the merger of the London Museum of Jewish Life and the Jewish Museum) and Chair of its Social History and Exhibitions Committee; my one year appointment as Curator of the London Museum of Jewish Life, 1988-89 - whilst the permanent Curator was on sabbatical; my membership of the Faculty of Leo Baeck College and creator and convenor of the History Course for the Part-Time Evening MA. Most particularly influential and beneficial has been my continuing position as Barnett Shine Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Political Studies at Queen Mary and Westfield College - since 1990 - and the Directorship of the Centre for the Study of Migration, at the College, which was founded at my instigation in 1994.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in researching and writing the submitted published works followed a disciplined pattern which allowed sufficient flexibility for the temporal and spatial variations of the subjects covered. In each case the process of research was to identify the core themes and debates and subsequently to create a framework within which the research agenda, concepts and context, data and resultant qualitative and quantitative analysis could be located. My overall approach is that of the empiricist who uses a systematic method to locate and evaluate evidence in order to introduce new dimensions and additions to historical records and to challenge accepted myths and stereotypes.

In order to simplify the mechanics of the methodology undertaken I will divide the submitted works into the following thematic groups:

- Publications relating to the clothing industry.
- Publications relating to the emergence and development of Progressive Judaism.
- Publications on Writers of History
- Publications which feature Anglo-Jewish history as a facet of British history.

In each group the research programme has followed a similar track and therefore I shall expand upon the first and only detail the areas of difference in the others.

2.1 Publications Relating to the Clothing Industry - and its Work Force.⁵⁸

The objective of the research in this area has been to record the foundation and development of the industry, the composition of the labour force, the interaction of native and immigrant labour in the workplace and in trade unions, the contribution of Jewish clothing manufacturers and workers to the clothing industry and that industry's place within the

wider economy. Incorporated within the research have been comparative spatial, temporal and ethnic elements.⁵⁹ As is my practice, the first part of the research focused on secondary sources, both to aid the creation of the framework and, more importantly, to facilitate the identification of areas, issues and topics, previously ignored or misinterpreted. In addition to the more academic texts, contemporary works of fiction, such as Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke*, Walter Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, and Zangwill's, *Children of the Ghetto*, were consulted.⁶⁰ I hold the view that literature of the times not only provides imagery but acts as a medium through which to broadcast current concerns, ambitions and emotions, though its impact is dependent on the time of publication.⁶¹ For example, Besant's, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, was instrumental in gaining support for the creation of the People's Palace in the East End of London at the end of the 1880s whilst Kingsley's *Alton Locke* did nothing to improve the lot of the tailor in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶²

The next stage was the examination of contemporary primary sources. For this group those examined included government surveys, commissions and reports which embraced issues such as immigration and emigration, the sweating system, national physical deterioration, the setting-up of trade boards, housing, poverty and the alien question. The Decennial Censuses, specifically those straddling the years 1851 to 1921 were extensively used.⁶³ Further primary material was located in the archives of the Tower Hamlets and Rose Lipman Local Libraries, Trades Union Congress (TUC), the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers (NUTGW) and the General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU). In certain instances it became a physical rather than an intellectual exercise. At the NUTGW, I discovered the long lost Minute Book of the Leeds Amalgamated Jewish Tailors, Machiners and Pressers for the years 1905-07, lodged behind the uppermost shelves in the Union's Information Office, covered in dust. The Minute Book cast a new light on the Union and its leadership. This led to my questioning previous assumptions and

drawing new conclusions. Though relevant to the history of Reform Judaism, in a similar manner - lodged in the back of a chair - I discovered a letter which drew my attention to certain aspects of religious politics in Leeds. This led me to further research and the opportunity to chronicle a previously unknown series of events which altered hitherto accepted concepts and attitudes.⁶⁴

The research then entered the realm of the particular with the investigation of company records and balance sheets such as those of the nineteenth century-founded companies of John Barran and Joseph Hepworth of Leeds, and the twentieth century fashion houses of Frank Russell, Frank Usher, Windsmoor, Alexon and Ellis and Goldstein.⁶⁵ In 1988, I was most fortunate to be entrusted with Samuel Goldstein's personal ledger. Never previously made available to a researcher the journal has enabled me to identify the impact of the interwar and wartime economies and to pinpoint changes in the industrial structure of the clothing industry which had previously gone unnoticed. This formed the basis of the second part of my recent published essay on Morris Cohen.⁶⁶

Newspaper archives are invaluable, provided the researcher remains aware of the inevitable bias that exists in all reporting. It was my reading every edition of the *Yorkshire Factory Times* from its first appearance in 1889 until 1915, that enabled the history of the Leeds Wholesale Clothing Workers' Union to be recorded.⁶⁷ But it was not only the English national, local and trade press which told the story of the clothing workers and their unions. The Yiddish press of the same period became the socialist voice of the exploited sweated alien worker. In order to appreciate the ideology, (I found there were frequent distortions of the reality) I undertook a six-week crash course in Yiddish - having no previous German and no Hebrew. The ability to consult the socialist *Polishe Yidel* and the anarchist *Arbeiter Fraind*⁶⁸ facilitated my understanding of the Jewish workers' experience and broadened my

historiography. It was my knowledge, however basic, of Yiddish that led me to reconsider the process of immigrant Anglicisation and, in an article published in 1996,⁶⁹ originating from a paper given in 1993, to explore my thesis that the language of the Pale, far from locking the immigrants into their eastern Europe background was in fact used by both the Jewish trade unions and the Anglo-Jewish élite as a means of familiarising the immigrant with the English language and accelerating the assimilation process.

The careful evaluation and validation of evidence is a practice which must be strictly adhered to when using oral testimony. Oral history is a valuable source provided those using it are alerted to the pitfalls. The desire of the interviewee to please, to tell it as they would wish it to have been or to view the past through rose tinted glasses is not uncommon; the researcher has to validate all evidence. However a negative can be turned to a positive when inaccuracies reveal elements of the interviewee which highlight attitudes or biases relating to the period under examination. For research into the clothing industry oral history interviews were carried out with trade unionists and their descendants, rabbis, clothing workers, employers, fashion designers and modern entrepreneurs,⁷⁰ some of whom made their personal and company records and modes of production available for further research.

It is not only oral testimony which is of value; diaries, scrapbooks, photograph albums etc. all put meat on the bones of history. My research into the industry and its workers benefited from my period as Curator of the London Museum of Jewish Life. I was able to commission exhibitions which directly related to my field of research and writing and not only expand my primary source knowledge through the acquisition of archival material, artefacts and oral testimonies but, in addition, make that knowledge available beyond the academic world.

It will be clear from the group of submitted works relating to this topic that the research process has been one of continuity from the 1980s right through the 1990s. At regular points the material has been reviewed, analysed afresh and reinterpreted. The result has been the publication of the works listed. But, as my most recent publications in this area demonstrate, the clothing industry continues along the same structural lines even if the faces behind the machines and at the cutting tables change. The accumulation of data must continue, as must the analysis and interpretation. The time is now ripe to redesign the framework in order to accommodate the interface of different immigrant groups, the changing market place and the globalisation of the clothing industry. This is something I have begun to do as evidenced by my recent essay on 'Hugeneots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields and the Spirit of Capitalism' which appears in *London the Promised Land?*

2.2 Publications Relating to the Emergence and Development of Progressive Judaism.⁷¹

This second group of works was, as explained below, a direct result of my concern to place the emergence of Reform Judaism in Britain within the broader framework of British religious, political and social history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The monograph *150 Years of Progressive Judaism in Britain (150 Years)* although published before the history of Reform Judaism in Britain, *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism In Britain* in reality built on the early stages of that research, the one difference being that the former was to embrace both Liberal and Reform Judaism, neither previously having been subject to comprehensive research. As editor of *150 Years* I was responsible for commissioning works which would result in the publication of a balanced account of the emergence and development of both movements. In addition to the material gleaned for the larger Reform history my contributory chapter, which was a highly condensed version of Progressive Judaism over a period of 150 years, incorporated material from the

Liberal Synagogue's archives. These included minute books, letter books, biographies, autobiographies and membership statistics. In addition I was able to dip into my knowledge and archives relating to East London when constructing the history of the Settlement Synagogue.⁷² At the same time as editing the 1990 monograph I was responsible for the research and writing of an accompanying exhibition. The exhibition facilitated the gathering of material both for the 1990 publication and for the history of Reform Judaism.

The research methodology employed for *Tradition and Change* followed the same pattern as that for the works on the clothing industry. Part One, for which I was solely responsible, covered the background to the schism of 1840 and the subsequent history of Reform Judaism in Britain until 1929. In 1951, Albert Hyamson published a very detailed account of the history of the Sephardim of England. It is a work which, even 40 years on, provides a very good launching pad for the history of Reform Judaism in Britain⁷³ and thus was the first point of secondary source reference. Other publications consulted included biographies, autobiographies, works on the church and religion in Britain, on Anglo-Jewry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recent works on Judaism in Victorian England plus literature on Reform Judaism in America and Europe.⁷⁴ This was followed by intensive archival investigation. The archives of the West London Synagogue of British Jews were made freely available and the Minute Books, Letter Books and Boxes, plus miscellaneous records were thoroughly examined. In addition, the relevant Board of Deputies of British Jews' Minute Books, plus those of the Great Synagogue and the archives of the Office of the Chief Rabbi were consulted. Contemporary publications, including the Religious Census for 1851 and the English and Jewish Press were included in the research trawl. In order to reassess the role of the emancipation debate within the emergence of Reform Judaism in Britain I consulted the Peel

Papers at the British Library. My conclusions can be read on pp. 13 and 14 of *Tradition and Change*.

The emergence of Reform Judaism did not follow a singular pattern and I felt it necessary to consider the provincial communities in a separate chapter. Bill Williams's excellent *The Making of Manchester Jewry*⁷⁵ provided a starting point from which to approach that city's association with Reform Judaism. The records of the Manchester Reform Community were destroyed in bombing during the Second World War. Therefore Williams's work was supplemented with autobiographical material, newspaper archives, contemporary articles and cross referencing with the archives of the West London Synagogue of British Jews.⁷⁶ The origins and development of Reform Judaism in Bradford were recorded by using the archives of the West London Synagogue, the autobiography of Rabbi Strauss, local histories, Bradford City Archives, local, national and Jewish newspaper archives and the synagogue's register of births and deaths. Additional help was provided by the current President of the Synagogue.

In order to determine a) whether such a thing as a Reform Movement existed in Britain during the early twentieth century and b) whether there was a single 'Reform Voice' or just Reform Jews, I confronted one of the dilemmas of the Jew in the diaspora- the question of identity. I located my research within the problematics of the day, anti-alienism, political Zionism and Bolshevism. A variety of sources were consulted, these included recent work on Zionism by Stuart Cohen and on Bolshevism by Sharman Kadish,⁷⁷ together with newspaper and institutional reports and First World War Service records.

Once again my responsibility for mounting an exhibition, this time on Reform Judaism, which was held in 1992, greatly facilitated my research and enabled me to expand my archives and incorporate images and oral

testimonies. All these added new dimensions to the history of Reform Judaism in Britain.

2.3 Publications on Writers of History.⁷⁸

In the research process for works which sought both to locate contemporary researchers within their times and to analyse the impact of their works on government and society, it was important to draw initially on secondary sources, fiction and non-fiction, in order to create the framework. For the chapter on Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth, secondary source literature, biographies and archives were consulted so as to establish the characters of the protagonists. Material was obtained from the archives of Westminster School, and the LSE and Senate House Libraries. As stated in the introduction to that chapter, my intention was not to use the 'well-thumbed publications ... but ...less-known works and, in the case of Charles Booth, ... certain of his handwritten works.'⁷⁹

The 'Historical Introduction' for the facsimile edition of the first *Jewish Year Book* enabled me to publish a work which located the Jewish immigrant within the context of the late nineteenth century debates on anti-alienism, nationality and eugenics. I therefore focused my research on contemporary articles, newspaper reports and literature. My earlier research into government surveys and commissions was instrumental in providing the contextual framework for research and writing. As is stated at the outset of the chapter, my intention was to get into the minds of the editor and publisher of that first *Jewish Year Book*,⁸⁰ thus I ensured that I did not go beyond the date of the book's publication, August 1896, in the collection of my source material. The luxury of hindsight was only permitted in the closing sentences.

2.4 Anglo-Jewish History as a Facet of British History.⁸¹

The emphasis of the chapter on the Jewish Community for the *Peopling of London* was that of the location of one immigrant group within the mosaic

which was the 'peopling of London'. The research was therefore restricted to adding to existing data and providing up-to-date demographic statistics on the Anglo-Jewish Community. These were provided by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Institute of Jewish Affairs.⁸²

The research process for my two most recent publications, the chapters in *London The Promised Land?* and the chapter 'Higher Education in the London Community' for *London Higher*, followed the same pattern as all previous works though in these instances British Jewish history was located as a part of the whole. Into the framework of 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis....' I incorporated earlier primary research and, in addition, consulted government reports on the Ribbon Weavers, Handloom Weavers, together with the 1985 Home Office Report on Bangladeshis in Britain, recent surveys carried out on Bethnal Green, analysis of the 1991 Decennial Census and information specially prepared for me by the Home Office on requests for asylum from Bangladeshi refugees. For obvious reasons particular use was made of Tower Hamlets Local History Library. Interviews were carried out with members of the local Bangladeshi community and members of the Bethnal Green City Challenge. Careful analysis was required of the latter as certain of the comments made and reports provided were tendentious and for various reasons could not be incorporated in the published chapter.

For reasons explained below the chapter on Higher Education in the London Community developed as a study of the availability of Higher Education in East London between the years 1887 and 1931, with the focal point being the People's Palace - subsequently Queen Mary College. My established pattern of secondary source and empirical primary research was undertaken. The majority of primary source evidence was to be found in the archives of Queen Mary and Westfield College. This included a variety of documents, letters, student lists, and application forms, staff records, college journals, contemporary articles and press

cuttings plus the College's record of those who died in the First World War. By comparison the archives at Tower Hamlets Local History Library held only a small amount of relevant material. In order to evaluate the myth of the highly educated Jewish East Ender I made use of oral testimony to supplement what the records appeared to be telling me, that no more than four or five members of the local Jewish community per annum took advantage of higher education facilities at Queen Mary College in the years between 1887 and 1931.

2.5 Summary and Review of Research Development

As can be seen from the above, the general pattern of research, analysis and writing-up has remained constant. There has been a process of a 'building-up' of knowledge and material and an on-going extension of the fields of research and publication. My foci have extended to consider the global as well as the regional and national; comparative ethnic minorities as opposed to only the British Jewish community within the context of British history; the interfacing of different immigrant communities in the workplace and writers of history as well as writing history. In addition, I have introduced elements of public policy and sociology into what was previously historical territory.

It is perhaps relevant to mention that my radius of primary research has also expanded as a result of my convening and conceiving a number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses for the Department of Politics at Queen Mary and Westfield College. Some of the material accumulated for these has been incorporated in the published works submitted but there is a considerable quantity which will contribute to my intended next single authored volume - an examination of the way in which public policy and private attitudes have influenced East London and, conversely, the way in which events and people in East London have impacted on national history. It is clear British Jewish history, as well as that of other ethnic groups, will form a part of the whole.

3. PUBLICATION STRATEGY AND CONTENT

Summaries, Evaluations, Limitations of the Research and Themes

From 1988 to date (1997) my publication strategy has been to constantly re-evaluate concepts and themes in keeping with the resources available and in tune with current trends and debates. I have sought to prioritise my practice of locating Anglo-Jewish history within the broadest and most pertinent framework whilst at the same time creating new frameworks within which the Anglo-Jewish element is but a part, and not always the dominant part, of the whole.

In this section I shall consider the publications under the same group headings as the section on Research Methodology. I will provide a brief outline of each publication, highlighting its original content, providing an evaluation and critique at the end of each section. By way of conclusion I will consider the major themes which run through all the published works, thus supporting my contention that my published works, taken as a whole, contribute to a broader understanding and appreciation of British Jewry, their history and their place within British history in its broadest sense.

3.1 Publications relating to the clothing industry, labour and trade unions.

- *Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London 1872-1915*, 1988.
- 'Trade Unionism amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds, 1872-1915', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 1990.
- *Uniting the Tailors*, 1995.
- *Off-the Peg*, 1988.
- 'Morris Cohen and the Origins of the Women's Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End', in *Textile History*, July 1997.
- 'Yiddish as a Vehicle for Anglicisation' in *Patterns of Migration, 1815-1914*, 1996.

The first publication listed above focused on the organisation of Jewish tailoring workers in London from the dawning of unskilled worker unionisation through to the amalgamation of Jewish and English unions in 1915. As the first publication in the series of London Museum of Jewish Life's Research Papers the work dealt only with the London experience. The intention here was to make new and original research available in a concise and accessible form. The monograph set out to challenge the beliefs that a) 'there were no Jewish trade unions',⁸³ b) that Jewish trade unions were always weaker and less successful than their English counterparts and c) that class difference and the class struggle were the prevailing factors in the organisation of Jewish labour. In arguing against the first, I detailed the Jewish unions that were founded, and in many instances, closed or collapsed during the years in question. By doing this I was expanding on Harold Pollins's table of the 'Principal Jewish Trade Unions in the years between 1892 and 1901' which appears in his *Economic History of the Jews in England*.⁸⁴ At the same time I sought to provide explanations for the unions' somewhat ephemeral histories within the context of the infra-structure of London's clothing trade rather than as simply part of the Jewish immigrant experience.

Points b) and c) were also addressed in a companion essay which appeared in D. Cesarani's *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. For the first time a comparative, if abbreviated, account of Jewish work and labour organisation in two major centres of clothing production, London and Leeds was available.⁸⁵ It was an approach long overdue. Joseph Buckman writing in 1980 argued that the Leeds Jewish unions deserved the 'primacy normally accorded London Jewish unions'.⁸⁶ In the limited space available I took the opportunity to compare and contrast both structure of industry and of trade unions, taking a liberal stance in comparison to Buckman's embittered Marxist approach in *Immigrants and the Class Struggle*, published in 1983. Both the Museum's

monograph and the chapter in Cesarani's book were inhibited by the confines of space and the centrality of the Jewish element. *Uniting the Tailors* presented an opportunity to draw up my own demographic and temporal parameters and the freedom to extend the comparative framework so as to accommodate new primary material and concepts. In addition, I could now devote space to the previously ignored - in the context of the clothing industry and its labour force - yet highly relevant interwar years. The result, in the words of Harold Pollins was the availability, for the first time, of a 'good comprehensive, account' of the clothing industry,⁸⁷ one which hopefully laid some of the ghosts of earlier works.

As my Preface in *Uniting the Tailors* suggests, the book was not just about English and Jewish tailoring workers and their industry,

'...It [was] about relationships ...the nexus of community ...the bridges built by Jewish and English socialists ... the relationship of male and female workers and trade unionists ... responses to technological innovation and deskilling and fashion in society ...' ⁸⁸

Less implicitly stated, but part of the undercurrent, was my belief that the presence of the Jewish worker in the sweatshops of the late nineteenth century and the perceived impact of that presence on national efficiency and survival, were central to the formulation and implementation of social and immigration policy in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸⁹

As its title implies *Uniting the Tailors* is a book which examines fusion - and at times separation - of gender, of different cultural and religious groups, of skills and of trade unions under the umbrella of the garment industry. All these issues and themes are to be found along the route to the amalgamations which form the spine of the work. We can trace the various players making their ways towards the fusions of 1915, 1932 and 1939 whilst at the same time monitoring the processes of assimilation and acculturation, if not always Anglicisation - all three terms which require

careful application. The amalgamations were bench marks of organisational successes and failures yet they have been largely ignored by the industry's chroniclers. Buckman in his detailed, but skewed, account of the Leeds Jewish tailoring trade and its union, allots one line to the 'incorporation into the National Union of 1915'.⁹⁰ He also ignores the history of the first Leeds Wholesale Clothing Workers' Union, one which played the major role in the amalgamation of 1915 which led to the formation of the first, national, Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. The Webbs in their *History of Trade Unionism*, devoted two lines to the amalgamation of 1915, making no reference to the significant Jewish tailors' participation.⁹¹ Hugh Clegg, in the second volume of *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889*, ignores the major amalgamation of 1915, mentions the 1922 amalgamation in passing and completely bypasses the creation of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers in 1932.⁹² Shirley Lerner in her *Breakaway Unions and Small Trade Unions*, mentions the 1915 amalgamation in passing, whilst the grossly inaccurate work commissioned by the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, *The Needle is Threaded*, gave the amalgamations sparse coverage. If a defence is needed for the publication of a history of trade unions and the clothing industry in the period covered by *Uniting the Tailors*, then a reading of the Hunter and Stewarts' 1964 volume, is reason alone.⁹³ Even more recent works such as Laybourn's *A History of British Trade Unionism 1770-1990*, published in 1992, makes no reference to the creation of what, in 1932, became the National Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. The significance of the fusion of unskilled alien tailor and skilled English craft cutter is somehow overlooked.⁹⁴

It is people that make history and *Uniting the Tailors* presents literary and pictorial images of many of those who played major, if not always successful, roles in the organisation of the clothing workers. It was the general secretaries and chairmen of the English and Jewish unions who, I would, and have, argued, were largely responsible for the success or

failure of their organisations. In the book, the cause of the dip in fortune of the Leeds Jewish Tailors, Machiners' and Pressers' Union is explained;⁹⁵ the character weaknesses of the charismatic Lewis Lyons revealed;⁹⁶ Joseph Young's worries over the admission of women to the United Clothing Workers' Union highlighted;⁹⁷ Joseph Finn's transformation from socialist trade unionist to petty capitalist detailed;⁹⁸ full justice paid to the work of Aaron Rollin, Mick Mindel and Hymie Kantor who, in the 1930s ensured that the Jewish trade unionists of London were supported by a well organised and efficient national union and, by means of the 'family tree' which I constructed for the exhibition *Off-the-Peg*, held in 1988, illustrated - for the first time - the almost incestuous relationships of manufacturers of women's tailored garments in the years between 1910 and 1988. One reviewer said of the book's final chapter that it was an 'excellent and much needed' addition to our knowledge of British industrial history.⁹⁹

Uniting the Tailors, and its two forerunners,¹⁰⁰ presents the growth and development of the wholesale tailoring industry in London and Leeds within an analytical and comparative context. Its intention was to compensate for some of the lacunae present in earlier works and to correct certain misinterpretations. One reviewer has suggested, it brings 'together a vast amount of disparate material, which is incorporated into a strong narrative with a lot which is new ...the book will provide essential reading for all interested in the history of the British clothing industry.'¹⁰¹ Whilst another considered *Uniting the Tailors* to have thrown 'light not only upon what was an important part of the labour movement in two cities but also upon the fragile nature of identities,¹⁰² whether ethnic, gender or trade unionist'.¹⁰³ It is a work which is as relevant to British social, labour, political and economic history as it is to British Jewish history.

One of the myths that constantly recurs in Anglo-Jewish historiography of the earlier period, is that of the failure of the Jews to make a

contribution to the English economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Joseph Finn's pamphlet, *A Voice from the Alien*, which appeared in 1895 and which was a direct response to the TUC resolution of that year to control pauper immigrant entry, attempted to present a positive account of the Jewish role in the wholesale clothing trade. The individual largely responsible for this early success story was Morris Cohen who, as the family tree in *Uniting the Tailors* illustrates, sowed the seeds of the British women's garment trade in Albert Square, East London, early in the twentieth century. A part of Cohen's story was told in the 1988 exhibition *Off-the-Peg*, which I directed and researched, with the support of contemporary manufacturers and trade unionists. I subsequently wrote the exhibition text and edited the monograph, *Off-the-Peg*, which accompanied the exhibition. With the exception of one chapter written by Vickie Seymour, I also wrote the monograph. Though not intended as an academic text it has been, and is being, used as a source by a number of academics in their work on the clothing industry.¹⁰⁴ In the review of *Off-the Peg*, which appeared in the journal, *The Costume Society*, the monograph was considered 'a lively patchwork of pictures and memories which capture the feel of the industry'.¹⁰⁵ It is a work which straddles the first half of the twentieth century and leaves the door ajar for further research.

Morris Cohen is one of the unsung heroes of both British Jewish and British economic history. Even his descendants were unaware of the significance of his business activities.¹⁰⁶ His was a story that needed telling. In the section on 'Immigrants and Workers', in his recent book, *Englishmen and Jews*, David Feldman devotes a paragraph to Cohen,¹⁰⁷ whilst I allowed him two pages in *Uniting the Tailors*. Recently I was encouraged to provide more detail on the influence of Cohen on later clothing manufacturers, most particularly Ellis and Goldstein, by Dr. Andrew Godley of Reading University. The article on Morris Cohen, which appeared in the July 1997 issue of *Textile History*, is pioneering on

a number of counts; it provides the first airing of data from Samuel Goldstein's personal ledger and redresses the myth of the parasitic Jewish clothing worker of the late nineteenth century and the disinterested, self-seeking landlord. As a series of oral history interviews carried out in 1996 revealed, Cohen charged high rents but in return he looked after his tenants and gave much valuable advice on the running of the workshops. Cohen falls into the category of the early twentieth century Jewish entrepreneur, of which, as Godley has shown, there were significantly less than in New York during the same period.¹⁰⁸ By putting Cohen under the microscope we are at the same time examining the cultural and economic characteristics of London at the turn of the century.

* * * *

Although not directly related to my published works on the clothing trade the essay 'Yiddish as a Vehicle for Anglicisation' which appeared in *Patterns of Migration, 1850-1914*, published in 1996, grew out of my researches into the Yiddish press. The essay was first given as a paper at the Centennial Conference of the Jewish Historical Society of England held in 1993. Perhaps it says something about the Society's acceptance of the modern approach to Anglo-Jewish history that they included on their programme a paper which highlighted the proletarian face of late nineteenth century British Jewish life. The essay argued that, during the latter years of the last century, Yiddish was not seen as a vehicle for the retention of ethnicity and eastern European culture but as a bridge to assimilation and Anglicisation. It is relevant to note at this point that, in spite of the suggestions by some of the more recent British Jewish historians, including Cesarani and Kushner, that pressure was brought to bear on the immigrant community by Anglo-Jewry to eschew Yiddish, and thus the 'national' language was sacrificed involuntarily,¹⁰⁹ oral history interviews and research have provided evidence that, if not the immigrants, then certainly their children, were only too eager to dispense with the uniform of the immigrant and become 'Englishmen'.¹¹⁰ Few, if any, of the arrivals from Russia and Russia-Poland could speak or read

English and the main route of communication was through the language of the Pale. For those immigrants who could read Yiddish, the Yiddish press provided a medium through which to advertise English classes and, more importantly, for the Jewish socialists to inform the workers about trade union and political meetings, strikes and political happenings at home and abroad. The goal was to introduce the Jewish worker to the socialist and anarchist doctrines. Common understanding necessitated a common language, thus the need to override the linguistic barrier. However, as I and others have illustrated, in the early years of immigrant settlement, immediacy took precedence over ideology, in whatever language.¹¹¹

The essay¹¹² in *Patterns of Migration*, is limited to a discussion of the London experience and focuses on clothing workers and political activists. It is not the first to highlight the place of Yiddish within the immigrant Jewish community - Gartner has recorded how the Russo-Jewish Committee sponsored the publication of a Yiddish-English lexicon in 1894, Rosalyn Livshin has described the way in which children in Manchester were discouraged from speaking Yiddish at school, whilst more recently David Feldman has emphasised the way in which the Anglo-Jewish establishment considered Yiddish 'an unsuitable medium for western thought'¹¹³ - but it is the first which takes a positive view of the move to eradicate the 'denigrating language'. By contrast in her latest book Nancy Green illustrates how, in the 1920s, 'language sections', including one for Yiddish speakers, were encouraged amongst the clothing workers of Paris. Significantly, during the next decade of rising xenophobia, these same were disbanded.¹¹⁴

Limitations of Research and Publication into the Clothing Industry, its Work Force and related topics.

Few histories are definitive or all embracing, new evidence and new interpretations emerge with regularity. Within the context of the clothing

industry there are a number of topics which remain open to further research and discussion. One of the most obvious is in the field of international comparison. A comparative study of Jewish entrepreneurs in New York and London undertaken by Andrew Godley has recently been published in his jointly edited volume, *Business History and Business Culture*,¹¹⁵ not surprisingly, there is a bias in favour of the clothing industry. Nancy Green's chapter in *Patterns of Migration* briefly explores the experiences of Jewish immigrants in London, New York and Paris,¹¹⁶ though again the clothing industry is there almost by default. The comparative element is alive and very well in Green's latest book, *Ready-to-Wear Ready-to-Work*, but this in-depth account of the clothing industry from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day is devoted to New York and Paris. London appears in passing, though she has drawn on the works of British historians, including myself, in creating her infrastructure.¹¹⁷ Waldinger and Phizacklea's chapter in *Ethnic Entrepreneurs* compared immigrants in the clothing industries in Paris, London and New York¹¹⁸ but to date there is no single volume which does with London and New York what Green has done with New York and Paris. I also accept that whilst, in different essays I have considered the Jewish entrepreneur's part in the emergence of the women's wholesale clothing industry there remains a need to explore this field in more depth, particularly the interwar years, and to further analyse Goldstein's complex but revealing ledger.

The literature on British women and work is one which has grown during the 1980s.¹¹⁹ However, Jewish women remain the exception to the rule, in historiography as in late nineteenth and early twentieth century life, they retain their 'hidden' and 'other' place. As Kushner points out 'Gender themes and Jewish women's history has suffered specific neglect in representations of Anglo-Jewish history.'¹²⁰ Fortunately, there have been exceptions, as are to be found in the writings of Rickie Burman and Lara Marks.¹²¹ But much more work is called for on the economic and political

role of Jewish women. We need to learn more about Sarah Wesker and the unsung heroines who played major roles in developing the women's ready-to-wear clothing trade in the early 1920s,¹²² as well as ladies of the middle class whom trade unionist John Dyche classified, somewhat unfairly, as 'idle, wasteful and extravagant' but who provided the market for women's tailored garments.¹²³

The language of the workplace is currently a topic of considerable interest. In the contemporary geographic and economic context of Spitalfields, Rod Chalmers has been carrying out research into the Sylheti community¹²⁴ and has recently published the first Sylheti-English lexicon. As a means of filling the gap in comparative linguistic studies in East London, he and I plan to produce a paper which considers how Jewish and Bengali clothing workers in the East End have used Yiddish and Sylheti as bridge to assimilation.

A final consideration: up until now the focus on the clothing industry has been from the perspective of the producer - employer or employee - it would be challenging to approach the subject through the lens of the consumer, to question the influence of consumable items on the assimilation process - in the style of Andrew Henize who took this approach to Jewish immigrants to America in the early twentieth century.¹²⁵

3.2 Publications which relate to the history of Reform Judaism in Britain.

- *150 Years of Progressive Judaism In Britain*, 1990
- 'Convenience or Ideology? The Origins of Reform Judaism in Britain' in *The Jewish Quarterly*, Summer 1992.
- *Tradition and Change The History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995*, 1995. (specifically Part One).

My association with the history of Reform Judaism in Britain began in 1988, during my period as Curator of the London Museum of Jewish Life. I was preparing a lecture on the impact of political Zionism, Bolshevism and suburbanisation on London Jewry during the pre World War 11 era.¹²⁶ In order to build up my source bank, I asked the Executive Director of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain if I could have a copy of the movement's official history in order to identify early Reform positions. His answer was simple and to the point, 'we don't have one but would you like to write one?'. My response required some, admittedly brief, thought. I was not a theologian nor a theological historian, however writing such a work would provide an opportunity to locate an area of British Jewish religious history, which I saw as embracing political and social dimensions, within the wider framework of British History.¹²⁷ I agreed to go ahead and invited a Rabbi, Jonathan Romain, who was completing his Ph.D on the Reform Beth Din(Rabbinic Court) in Britain, to become my co-author.¹²⁸ We agreed to separate the research and writing of the Reform history chronologically rather than thematically. Feeding from my earlier work and determination to adopt the broad view of British/British Jewish history, I took responsibility for the period up until 1929, whilst Rabbi Romain concerned himself with the more inward looking institutional development that occupied the second period. The finished volume is evidence of the divide in the context of style and emphasis.

The research for what was to become *Tradition and Change* was begun in mid-1989. Shortly afterwards I was asked to take responsibility for mounting an exhibition and editing a monograph which would commemorate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Progressive Judaism in Britain. Progressive Judaism at the end of the twentieth century embraces both Reform and Liberal Judaism; neither institutions at that time had published histories. The monograph was to be composed of contributed essays from representatives of both movements and an essay

by myself which encapsulated the 150 years. The book and exhibition were researched and produced in just over seven months. The guidelines were clear; to provide a clarification of the meaning of Reform and Liberal Judaism in the context of both the European and American traditions and to produce a monograph which located the origins of Progressive Judaism within a British framework whilst drawing upon comparison with Europe. The reproduction of pictures, diagrams and documents presented an opportunity to put meat on the bones of history. Both religious bodies demanded a nation-wide, as opposed to London-centric approach, though the latter was at times difficult to avoid. It was essential to detail the nascence of Liberal Judaism and compare its spiritual and intellectual dynamism with the perceived conservatism of Reform. Whenever possible I located Progressive Judaism within the framework of national and international history. The latter, in particular the rise of Nazism, having made an important contribution to the form and direction of Progressive and Orthodox Judaism in Britain in the years following the Second World War.

Whilst hinting at what was to come in terms of a history of Reform Judaism, *150 Years of Progressive Judaism*¹²⁹ remains the only text which, albeit in an abbreviated form, offers an insight into the history of Liberal Judaism in Britain. By the very nature of the short period of gestation it has its shortcomings, but in the context of Reform History, these were addressed in the later volume, *Tradition and Change*.

In its first chapter *Tradition and Change* sets out to lay some of the ghosts that haunt the origins of Reform Judaism in Britain. Primarily, that it was not, as Stephen Brook so carelessly suggests in his 1989 publication, *The Club*, 'a German import'.¹³⁰ He fails to take advantage of Michael Leigh's essay¹³¹ and more recent works such as those by Robert Liberles's (referred to above), and the article by Singer which appeared in 1985, stressing the difference between London and European Reform and

highlighting the bibliocentricity in English Reform which was also to be found in English Protestantism during the same period.¹³² However, I suggest that Feldman over-emphasises evangelical anti-rabbinism's part in the foundations of the West London Synagogue.¹³³ Brook might also have consulted the section on 'Anglican England' which appears in Michael Meyer's impressive world history of the Reform Movement, *Response to Modernity*.¹³⁴ For his eight pages on English Reform in the nineteenth century Meyer leans heavily on published works, apparently having carried out no primary research.¹³⁵ By contrast I made as much use as possible of the primary sources made available for me by the West London Synagogue of British Jews. From these I recognised that the Founding Fathers' objectives had been to worship close to home, in a decorous manner and to create an Anglicized and elitist Synagogue. It was evident that they felt a genuine hurt at the issuing of the *Cherem* (social excommunication). I could detect no ideological force behind their early reforming plans. Those radical, and more theologically based changes, carried the hallmark of David Woolf Marks, the synagogue's first Minister, rather than that of the 24 founders. If there was, as Feldman suggests,¹³⁶ a challenge to orthodoxy, then I suggest the glove was thrown down under the influence of Marks, for it was not until he arrives on the scene that any references to the abolition of the Second Day of the Festivals and the Denial of the Oral Law appear in the synagogue's Minute Book.¹³⁷

The first chapter also questions the importance placed on the emancipation debate in the creation of the first Reform Synagogue. As Feldman suggests the debate taking place on the broader political canvas was more about the role of the Anglican Church in British politics than about the removal of Jewish disabilities.¹³⁸ The West London Synagogue Minute Book exhibits little evidence of a preoccupation with emancipation. It is important to note that, contrary to some assertions, one of those leading the fight for the removal of disabilities, Isaac Lyon

Goldsmid¹³⁹ - considered by Salbstein to have been the 'standard-bearer of Emancipation'¹⁴⁰ - did not become a member of the Reform Synagogue until 1843. As Chapter Two in *Tradition and Change* illustrates, by the early 1850s, rather than taking the lead, West London was following the example of the orthodox community in the fight for emancipation.¹⁴¹ As one reviewer noted, my book 'does much to explain the political origins of the Reform Movement.'¹⁴² In his review, Todd Endelman takes the broad brush approach and says of the book that it 'will interest students of Victorian history, modern Jewish history and Anglo-Jewish history alike.'

The chapter on the emergence of Reform in the provinces reveals the unwillingness of West London to become the mother of Reform, a role it reluctantly took up following the passage of the Marriage Reform Act of 1856.¹⁴³ In addition it illustrates the way in which the growth of a section of the British economy - the worsted trade in Bradford and the tailoring trade in Leeds - together with the benefits of industrialisation in Manchester, contributed to the emergence of Reform Judaism in the north of England. Chapter Four moves into the twentieth century and by so doing confronts the dilemmas of the day which faced Anglo-Jewry; the alien presence, political Zionism, the Russian Revolution and the processes of assimilation, acculturation and Anglicisation.

Tradition and Change is intended to provide a broad perspective on religious change in British Jewish history and to ensure that the transitions were located within British History.¹⁴⁴ It is not within the remit of this essay to consider Part 11 of the book but I would suggest that Part 1 achieves at least some of its goals. In the review of the book which appeared in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Professor David Cesarani commented that it 'set a new standard for synagogue histories'.¹⁴⁵

Limitations of the Research on the History of Progressive Judaism in Britain.

In the context of institutional histories, an in-depth account of the history of Liberal Judaism in Britain is long overdue, but it is to be hoped that when one is published it will not lose sight of the historical relevance of its place within British history. In addition, there is a need to secure more information on the role of women in the early years of the Reform Movement. As the archives of the early Reform Synagogues provide little material it would be necessary to consult diaries and family archives, if we are to learn more about the role of the women of the Cousinhood in Anglo-Jewish affairs.

3.3 Publications on Writers of History.

- 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth: Men of Their Times', in G. Alderman and C. Holmes (eds.), *Outsiders and Outcasts*, 1993.
- 'The Jewish Year Book, 5657 (1896): A Defence of British Jewry? In *The Centenary Facsimile of the First Jewish Year Book*, 1996.

The stimulus for writing both chapters arose out of a curiosity to learn more about 'the source of sources'. When in 1992 it was decided to produce a volume of essays in honour of William J Fishman, I was concerned that my contribution be relevant to Bill's interests, something my current research project, the history of Reform Judaism, was not. I therefore decided, as I state in the introduction to the chapter, to consider '...two other trailblazers. Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth; men to whom twentieth-century historiographers are indebted.'¹⁴⁶ Their names appear with regularity in the footnotes of works on social, labour and Jewish nineteenth century history and it would not be feasible to provide a list. The intention of the work was to compare and contrast Mayhew and Booths' methodology and impact on contemporary policy makers - to put a human face on the social investigators and to analyse them within their time-frames. In this chapter I was moving out of the particularist field of Anglo-Jewish history into that of more general nineteenth century British

history. Both men had included 'Jews' within their investigations, favourably and unfavourably, their findings regularly quoted by Anglo-Jewish historians. Thus there was a clear link between both types of historiography. At the time of my writing the number of secondary sources devoted to my protagonists was limited¹⁴⁷ and the appreciation of their roles varied.¹⁴⁸ Roy Porter in his extensive *London A Social History*, locates Booth under the heading of 'Contemporary Investigations' and Mayhew under that of 'Middle-Class Observers'. Wayne Parsons, in his impressive *Public Policy*, includes Mayhew within the school of scientific empiricists such as Chadwick, Beveridge and Booth.¹⁴⁹

'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth Men of Their Times?', assumes that the reader is familiar with, or has ready access to, both *London Labour and the London Poor* and *Life and Labour of the People of London*. When considering Mayhew I focused on the lesser known writings which provide an insight into the mind and thus the ambitions and intentions of the young man. His pamphlets on education, the causes of low wages, and the benefits of science to everyday life are indicative of the work of someone who, if he had been encouraged, or if he was publishing at a different time, could have affected and benefited the lives of those street people he portrayed with such care. As one charts Mayhew's progress it is possible to detect disillusion and failed ambition as financial loss and shattered ideals follow disastrous business ventures and the horrifying revelations of disease, need and exploitation that were part of mid-nineteenth century London life. But it is here that character gets in the way of resolution. Mayhew's obsession with imagery and narrative, the ease with which he was distracted, disabled him from achieving his goal of correlating income and employment to domestic life in order to arrive at the root cause of poverty. My focus on Mayhew's 'psychologistic' shortcomings (to quote Dr. Englander's reference) as a weakness in his approach is welcomed by David Englander in his more recent study of the two social scientists which appears in *Retrieved Riches*.¹⁵⁰

Charles Booth was a different character. Wealthy before he was 40, he had both the money and the discipline of character to work towards his goal, that of understanding poverty - 'the problem of problems' - by means of scientific empiricism. When he began his researches, Booth's intention was to provide statistical evidence not advocate political change. Until 1993 the man whose work had been so widely quoted and which had made such a positive impact on social policy formulation and implementation,¹⁵¹ had been celebrated by the publication of just one book devoted to his life and work as opposed to the theoretical and contextual implications of his research.¹⁵² When researching Booth I sought to discover the individual behind the 17 volumes of *Life and Labour*, thus the section on Booth reveals not a thin-faced cold-blooded scientist but a man of passion and concern who, as early as 1879, sought to comprehend and evaluate the new doctrine of socialism,¹⁵³ reaching the conclusion that the capitalist economy was the only route to national stability and success. Booth demonstrates a flexibility which allowed contemporary analysis to influence beliefs and attitudes. The passage of time and the needs of the poor facilitated his acceptance of the combination of 'limited socialism' with capitalism, the only way in for welfare legislation.¹⁵⁴ In the same way his early, negative attitude towards the eastern European Jewish immigrants, whom he considered to make 'unpleasant neighbours', became tempered through the recognition of, and respect for, their hard work and temperance.¹⁵⁵ However, as Englander suggests in his 1995 analytical survey of 'Booth's Jews', the social scientist's conclusions were hampered by his preconceived assumptions about the Jewish Worker which obscured his recognition of that workman's place within the contemporary economic and industrial structure.¹⁵⁶

The chapter on Mayhew and Booth set out to answer a question. The answer is provided in the conclusion. In this I postulate that it was not simply the outcome of research and analysis or investigative journalism

which made for political change, timing was all important if the words of men such as Mayhew and Booth were to reach the ears of those with the power to implement change. Following the publication of my chapter on Mayhew and Booth I was asked to advise the producers of the BBC2 series *Tales of the Map Room* on the programme devoted to *Metropolis London*. I provided a considerable amount of the material used in the commentary and, in addition, appeared in the programme which has subsequently been shown all round the world and delivered the message to politicians tempted to put an end to social welfare that, even in the late twentieth century, it is not drunkenness, dirt and lethargy which create poverty but impoverishment which leads to drinking, malaise and disease.

My second opportunity to 'get into the mind of the writer' came in 1995 when I was asked to provide a historical introduction to the planned Centenary Facsimile of the first *Jewish Year Book*, one which, as a reviewer has subsequently commented, offered an 'acute perspective' on the original publication.¹⁵⁷ Given *carte blanche* on the content and construction of the essay, I decided to explore the reason for the *Year Book's* appearance at that moment in history. In order to do so I needed to understand where the editor, Joseph Jacobs and the publisher Leopold Greenberg, were coming from, where they stood within the Anglo-Jewish community and, most pertinently, what was taking place on the broader national and international canvas. A portrait of Greenberg is drawn by Cesarani in his detailed account of the history of that organ of Anglo-Jewry, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991*. Greenberg was a Liberal who supported Zionism and unrestricted immigration.¹⁵⁸ Within the context of the appearance of the first *Jewish Year Book* it is the latter which is of most relevance.

Jacobs combined his researches as a social scientist with the concerns of a Jew living in England at a time when anti-semitism was on the increase in Europe and when controls on immigration were being put in place

across the Atlantic. I perceived the purpose of the *Year Book* as two-fold, to inform British Jewry of what was happening overseas and to demonstrate to the anti-alienist lobby, who presumably would read, or hear about the contents of the book, firstly, that the Anglicised members of the Jewish community were contributing to the nation's welfare and secondly that, however 'alien' the new arrivals might appear, it was environment not genes which determined behaviour and therefore within a brief passage of time the 'ghetto bends'¹⁵⁹ would be ironed out. Throughout the essay English and Jewish history are intertwined, for it is impossible to consider anti-alienism at the end of the nineteenth century without an account of the living and working conditions of the abyss that was the East End. But neither is it possible to appreciate contemporary attitudes and concerns without reference to Europe. What surprises is the omission of Germany from Jacobs's review of European affairs and the scant attention paid to the Dreyfus affair. But that is the difference between contemporary chronicling and the benefit of hindsight. What I hope the two chapters demonstrate is that in addition to straight forward biography, there is a place within the historical tradition for the correlation of well-thumbed reference volumes with the life and times of their compilers, in order that a broader understanding of the ingredients which go into the writing of history may be achieved.

Limitations of the Research.

The two essays detailed above have been vehicles through which to explore those works which historians use on an almost day-to-day basis whilst giving little thought to the authors. There were obvious restrictions on space which limited the comparative and theoretical element in the former work and greater detail in the latter. In the case of Mayhew and Booth this shortcoming has been to some extent corrected by the more recently published works of Englander and O'Day, whilst, in the context of Jewish eugenicists, Efron has gone some way towards plugging the gap.¹⁶⁰

3.4 Anglo-Jewish History as a Facet of British History.

- 'The Jewish Community' in *The Peopling of London*, 1993.
- 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis and the Spirit of Capitalism in Spitalfields', in *London the Promised Land?*, 1993.
- 'Higher Education in the London Community', in *London Higher*, forthcoming February/March 1998.

As already mentioned, the Jewish experience is only one part of the mosaic which makes up London's immigrant history. As Holmes stresses in *The Peopling of London*¹⁶¹ and in the recently published, *London the Promised Land?*¹⁶² the immigrants' contribution to London, indeed to Britain, is a sorely neglected aspect of our national history. For example, in Roy Porter's impressive, *London a Social History*, though the immigrant presence runs like a thread through the book, as a separate topic, 'immigrants' receive short shrift.¹⁶³ Awareness of the need to locate British Jewish history within the concept of 'London's immigrants', encouraged me to enter this field, initially through the chapter on the Jewish Community in *The Peopling of London*¹⁶⁴ and subsequently within the comparative context of the immigrant entrepreneur in *London the Promised Land?* and as part of the East London working class community in the chapter on 'Higher Education in the London Community'.¹⁶⁵

I have located my chapter on 'The Jewish Community in London', which appeared in the 1993 publication *The Peopling of London*, in this section as it is part of the much wider perspective taken by the volume's editor Nick Merriman in both the book and the accompanying exhibition mounted by the Museum of London, *The Peopling of London*. This exhibition compensated for some of Museum's earlier omissions referred to by Kushner in his recent book *The Jewish Heritage in British History*.¹⁶⁶ As Professor Holmes indicates in his Foreword to the *Peopling of London* '[the book] is likely to be noticed in academic circles, but it is aimed at a

wider audience ...'.¹⁶⁷ My intention therefore was to produce a work which was informative, accessible and which made use of my current and earlier research, augmented by up-to-the-minute reports on Jewish demography and national and international anti-semitism.¹⁶⁸ A measure of the book's worth can be gauged by the fact that within one year it went into its second reprint and has become recommended reading on a number of undergraduate courses.

The chapter on 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields and the Spirit of Capitalism' which appeared in my edited volume, *London the Promised Land? The Migrant Experience in a Capital City*, set out to examine the role of religion in entrepreneurial activity. In addition, the chapter questioned the current use of ethnic stereotyping, particularly as it appears in *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: Vol. 2*.¹⁶⁹ In the past twenty years there has been a vast outpouring of literature on ethnic minorities,¹⁷⁰ largely in reaction to the post Second World War influx which began in 1948, reached its height in the decade of the mid 50s to mid 60s, and ebbed from the 1970s onwards. Attention was paid initially, and logically, to the African-Caribbean community and, subsequently, to settlers from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Few sociologists and historians, with the exception of Holmes in his all-embracing *John Bull's Island*,¹⁷¹ concerned themselves with earlier arrivals such as the Huguenots,¹⁷² whilst the Jewish experience was used as a template, though rarely for the purposes of comparison and contrast.¹⁷³ I argue that without knowledge of the context within which the 1905 Aliens Act was formulated and implemented the history of 'race politics' in Britain cannot be developed.

In her latest publication Nancy Green notes that whilst the study of ethnic entrepreneurs has made great strides the 'intersection of successive "waves" has been overlooked'.¹⁷⁴ My chapter adopts a similar approach by exploring the interfacing of three immigrant groups in one spatial location

over a period of just over three hundred years - the Jews, Huguenots and Bangladeshis. I set out to measure the power of religious influence behind each group's economic activities and to examine their relative successes. The chapter provides evidence of the way in which the industrial and demographic structure of the clothing industry in Spitalfields interfaced and the way in which the Protestant Work Ethic is not a concept to be restricted to the Huguenot silk weaver.¹⁷⁵ It becomes clear, using Katy Gardner's empirical evidence,¹⁷⁶ that believers in Islam are as eager as the Jews and Huguenots to achieve material success in order to benefit both community and self. In entering the debate on ethnic stereotyping the chapter illustrates the importance of taking a general, as opposed to specific, approach. Dependent on the moment of history is the measure of Huguenot and Jewish success; not all the immigrants 'made it', indeed very few in the first forty to fifty years of settlement. Therefore, before drawing conclusions about Bangladeshis in Spitalfields we must allow time to pass. Even now, the image of failure is gradually being replaced by examples of success.¹⁷⁷

I am not an educational historian and when I was asked, by the Principal of Queen Mary and Westfield College to represent the College by writing a chapter for a forthcoming volume on higher education in London, being edited by Roderick Floud and Sean Glynn,¹⁷⁸ I looked for a route to satisfy my current research interests. Having been presented with the chapter title 'Higher Education in the London Community', one which all those involved, including the editors, agreed was vague and without a central focus, I decided to skew it towards one sector of that community in one geographic location - the working class of East London and their relationship to the People's Palace.¹⁷⁹ Whilst a number of works have been produced on education and two on the history of the People's Palace, in the former little space had been devoted to East London and, in the latter, the context had been a narrative, celebratory history not a questioning of ideals and concepts.¹⁸⁰ The resultant chapter sets the

history of what eventually became Queen Mary and Westfield College firmly within the context of an East End which housed some of the poorest members of the capital's community. Even within that small area the population was stratified, some verging on the middle class, some at the very edge of the abyss. How did this 'community' react to the middle class concept of a 'university for the poor' and a palace of recreation and leisure? The questions are answered in the text which also reveals new evidence which challenges previous assumptions regarding the Jewish community and Higher Education.

The concept of a university for the poor was somewhat misplaced, higher education did not come free, did not come easy, nor in the context of the average earning capacity of the East Enders, did it come cheap. As the College records reveal those who applied and took up places were rarely the locals, the East Enders saw the People's Palace purely as a place of entertainment and even then one which at times was too costly. My primary research further reveals that in the years between 1887 and 1939, contrary to the generally accepted view, local Jewish children very rarely went into higher education, they either got a job or entered the family business. What becomes most clearly identifiable is the divide between the local community and the academic side of the People's Palace, East London College, which later became a School of the University of London. The University and the College seeing themselves as a source of higher education on a national and international scale. Queen Mary College, as it became in 1934, was located in the East End, but was not of the East End. 'Higher Education and the London Community', provides an original insight into the early history of Queen Mary and Westfield College, into its reception by the local community and into the make-up of its student body. As with the previous three submissions in this section it provides a vehicle to consider British Jewish history, or more specifically in this instance, East End Jewish history, as part of the whole, rather than *as the whole*.

Limitations of the Research

The publications in this last group demonstrate my progression from the realm of the ethnic-specific into that of more general and comparative studies of minority groups. As such, my recent preoccupation with new disciplines provides a degree of limitation not so much in the research but in the accumulation of background knowledge and theory. However, the potential in the context of comparative studies in the sense of time and space is boundless and, in this instance, I should prefer to talk of the opportunities future research offers rather than of the limitations themselves. There is a need to consider the intersection of immigrant waves in both the long and the short term, impacts on the native and migrant economies, and the determinants of economic, academic and domestic success and failure. In addition time and space needs to be devoted to the interfacing of host and migrant language and cultures and the concepts of diaspora and hybridity. For however historians, sociologists and anthropologists may categorise and research the different immigrant and ethnic minorities that have been, and are still, a part of British life, it must not be forgotten that they all contribute to British history and culture.

3.5 Themes and Concepts

An important aspect of this context statement is my submission that the publications 'hold together'. In a very brief summary I shall illustrate the way in which several of the more important concepts and themes can be traced through the works and, in certain instances, could be teased out to form an independent discourse.

- **Labour and Working Class History.**

Interest in the grass roots and 'losers' of history, as E.P.Thompson referred to the unnamed and unknown members of the work force, was at

its height in the 1970s and 1980s and it is they who form the central core of the published works relating to the clothing industry. They are also, in the broadest sense, members of the working class - class taken here to represent individuals and groups who share common ambitions and interests¹⁸¹ - and it is the working class which is the spine of the chapter on 'Higher Education in the London Community'. It is a consideration of the losers as well as those who succeeded which is central to the debate on the spirit of capitalism in Spitalfields over the past three hundred years. In fact the impact of the labouring/working class on those outside its boundaries and the effect of the attitude and actions of those same on the workers features in each of the works under consideration. Even if, as in the case of the London Reform Jews of the Victorian era, it was a concern to exclude those considered to be unsuitable as members of the West London Synagogue of British Jews.

• Religion and Identity

The one positive fact about the concept of a 'Jewish Identity' is that there is no consensus as to how that identity is to be constructed. Is it possible to conceive of such an identity in purely religious terms, thus making it something that can be adopted or is it only available by descent, through the inheritance of a 'rich and varied' culture, which according to David Goldberg incorporates 'shared beliefs, values and practices'?¹⁸² Is Jewishness to be equated with ethnicity, a concept which has only recently been accepted by the Jewish communities of America and Britain, as, since the Second World War, its common usage has had strong racist overtones?¹⁸³ The long Jewish diasporic heritage¹⁸⁴ has created problems with Jewish self-identification, particularly where issues of citizenship, class conflict and national allegiance are involved. It is these issues which are to be found running through the submitted published works. Some are articulated and instantly recognisable, others implicit in the debates and actions described in the texts.

In the attempts to organise Jewish labour in the sweat shops of London and Leeds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the conflict of identity presented problems both to English trade union organisers and Jewish workers. Questions of self-identity and external perceptions of identity aggravated and complicated issues such as the development of interunion fraternity, opposition to employers who were kin or *landsleight*¹⁸⁵ and the subjugation of emotions aroused by anti-alien attitudes for the general good of the trade union movement.¹⁸⁶

It was the conflict between a Jewish religious identity and English citizenship which was explicit in the emergence of Reform Judaism in Britain and in the creation of the West London Synagogue of *British* Jews, implicit in the formulation of its liturgy and theology and powerfully implicated in the debates which surrounded the rise of political Zionism.¹⁸⁷ In his essay on 'Structures of Personal Identity', the grandson of Claude Montefiore, clearly had his paternal grandfather in mind when he wrote that at times, 'cultural identification takes on political implications'.¹⁸⁸ Claude Montefiore, co-founder of Liberal Judaism in Britain, was violently opposed to the creation of the Jewish state and horrified by the possibility that he could be perceived as a citizen of that state.¹⁸⁹ As he declared, he wanted to 'live exclusively among my English neighbours ... my own people.'¹⁹⁰

It is also clear that one of the major forces behind the appearance of the first *Jewish Year Book* was its editor's and publisher's concern that the Jewish population of Britain be recognised as contributing to the nation's fabric as citizens in every possible way. The theme of identity, recognisable in its linguistic form, resonates through the essay 'Yiddish as a means of Anglicisation'. However, concepts and issues of identity are not restricted to the Jewish population of Britain, they play a part in the life of any minority group and as such appear increasingly in contemporary intellectual discourse.¹⁹¹

• Public Policy

Public Policy is a fairly new player in the academic field. It has been described as the specific study of 'how, why and to what effect governments pursue particular courses of action and inaction'.¹⁹²

Analysing the policy cycle is what Garrard and Gainer were doing with the Aliens Act of 1905 in the early 1970s. I suggest that my works carry with them implicitly and explicitly theories and explanations for the actions and reactions of government, and in certain cases individuals, to the immigrant presence, in most cases that immigrant being the eastern European Jew. The Aliens Act was not the only policy reaction to the alien presence. The Trade Boards Act of 1909 was a direct outcome of concerns about sweated labour, the latter an issue which only caught the public imagination when numbers of foreigners in the East End and other provincial ghettos were perceived as *too high*. But it was not just the late nineteenth century alien who impacted on policy making. The Huguenot in the second half of the eighteenth century is recognisable as the catalyst for the Spitalfields Act; the schism which accompanied the creation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews contributed in no small way to the passage of the 1856 Marriage Act, though the importance of that same Synagogue in the eventual emancipation of British Jewry is overrated. It is perhaps stating the obvious to focus on the effects of the Education Acts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the working class, but perhaps the chapter on higher education goes some way towards proving that whilst primary education was free and mandatory it was the economic factor which in nearly every case determined advancement beyond that. And finally, no consideration of public policy in the history of immigration into Britain can ignore the way in which legislation on immigration control has been formulated in response to national need and to the national economic temperature, a fact which is articulated the chapters on the first *Jewish Year Book* and on Spitalfields, and

implicated the works on Morris Cohen, the Jewish Community of London and Docklands.

- **Xenophobia, Anti-Alienism, Anti-Semitism and Racism.**

It is only natural that this group of concepts and themes should follow on a discussion of public policy, for in British History immigration legislation is reactive not proactive. Historically immigration¹⁹³ control has followed public expressions of concern over the alien presence and the impact on jobs and homes whilst the rare examples of 'open door' policy since the Second World War have been reactions to economic and labour needs. This is not the place for a discourse on any of the above concepts but they all emerge in the texts submitted and, as with the other themes identified, could be excavated from source and collated into an independent discourse.

Limitations of space prevent me from considering here a number of other concepts and themes which appear in the submitted texts, including those around gender, language, stereotyping, processes of assimilation, acculturation and Anglicisation, aspects of leadership, ethnic group divisions and variants between perception and reality.

4. RECENT RELATED PUBLICATIONS

The 1980s were a period when the new group of historians referred to by Cesarani were researching and writing. By the early 1990s a number of new works had appeared, augmented by those from 'older' historians whose research into more general studies of British Jewish history were becoming available. There are areas of interface, particularly in the field of Jewish immigrant history as seen by studying the works of Gerry Black, David Cesarani, David Feldman, Anne J. Kershner, Tony Kushner, Lara Marks et al which, with the exception of Black, have been mentioned earlier in this essay.¹⁹⁴

There will always be institutional and celebratory histories which hopefully, as with Cesarani's *Jewish Chronicle* and Kadish's Jewish Lads' Brigade do not take a purely laudatory view but allow space for analysis and, where necessary, criticism. The last five years have seen an updating of the broad brush approach to British Jewish history. Whilst Vivian Lipman would, in Alderman's fondly intended words, 'never expose the new reality',¹⁹⁵ Alderman set out to do just that, and by so doing fills in the sadly ignored interwar period and follows through almost to the present day. In many ways his is a subjective history, particularly with regard to the more recent decades, with the provision of detailed descriptions of the inner workings of a number of communal institutions. Subjectivity brings with it vibrance, colour and the opportunity for exhilarating debate, all of which are valuable attributes of the historian. Eugene Black's *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880-1920*, is a broad sweeping survey of Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the latter Black considers not to have faded until after the First World War. Black's approach to the history of tailoring trade unionism is somewhat haphazard, selective and largely dependent on intermittent reports in the *Jewish Chronicle*, whilst his section on Reform and Liberal Judaism is alarming both for its omissions and its inaccuracy.¹⁹⁶ It is a book which

suffers much from a failure to check the facts. The third in this trio of Anglo-Jewish historiographies is the most recent, William Rubinstein's *A History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World: Great Britain*.

Rubinstein provides us with little that is new in British Jewish history, indeed in many ways he harks back to the celebratory days of Roth, in order to balance the 'negative' approach of certain modern historians whom he considers have become obsessed with anti-semitism in British society. As such he has been accused by Alderman as taking a 'superficial' approach to 'anti-semitic and philosemitic tendencies'.¹⁹⁷ In the book's introductory chapter Rubinstein points out that at the time of near publication, a number of other works were being completed;¹⁹⁸ these include *Tradition and Change*. However, both my monograph *150 Years* and the article in the *Jewish Quarterly* were readily available by the close of 1992, and therefore there seems little reason for him to have so completely misconstrued the origins of Reform Judaism and Liberal Judaism in Britain.¹⁹⁹

The interwar years, studies of Facism, responses to Nazism and the Holocaust have taken over from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' monopoly on British Jewish historiography. The studies have also been used by some as the vehicle for a narrow and confrontational approach to Anglo-Jewry. Kushner at the University of Southampton - wherein is the James Parkes Library - continues to work on the subject of refugees in both the narrow and broad context, a subject admirably dealt with by Louise London in her unpublished Ph.D and in her chapter, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy'²⁰⁰ while Richard Bolchover using mainly the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle* has examined British Jewish responses to the Holocaust. In a very recent publication, Thomas Linehan challenges the accepted view, and provides impressive evidence to the contrary, that the main impetus for membership of the fascist organisations in the interwar period was anti-semitism whilst Henry Srebrnik, in his recently published work, focuses

on Jewish political activity, most particularly, the relationship with the Communist Party during the Second World War.²⁰¹

I close this section with a cautionary note. The number of those working solely in the field of modern British Jewish History is diminishing by the day. Some, like myself are moving into the more general field of migrant studies, others, including Feldman, are concentrating on the Jew as part of British History. Cesarani is currently analysing the 'Eruv debate' in the context of late twentieth century British liberalism, whilst across the Atlantic, Endelman is continuing with his work on Disraeli in the context of British Government and anti-semitism. Ethnic-specific studies are now the prerogative of the newer migrant communities, those from the Caribbean and the sub-Indian continent. In this age of globalisation we are beginning to see the emergence of works which take that perspective, one of the more recent being Robin Cohen's *Global Diasporas*.²⁰² There will always be a future for British Jewish History but I would argue that that future lies in its being a part of the whole rather than a marginalised totality.

5. CONCLUSION

In this statement I have sought to illustrate that my published works have contributed original material and new interpretations to the school of modern British Jewish Historiography. Evidence of this is also to be found in the text, footnotes and bibliographies of works published by others since 1990.²⁰³ I hope, and intend, that my publications act as stimuli for others so that they can continue to fill the lacunae that remain.

NOTES

¹ It is necessary to point out that in submitting the jointly authored work, *Tradition and Change*, I am submitting Part One which was wholly authored by myself. This is clearly apparent from the style and focus of that section of the work, but can also be supported by my co-author Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Romain, by Raymond Goldman who commissioned the work and by Professor Todd Endelman of the University of Michigan who read and advised on the manuscript.

² As Professor Alderman does in his work *Modern British Jewry*, Oxford, OUP, 1992, I shall use the phrases 'Anglo-Jewish and British Jewish and their derivatives interchangeably', in this essay, See Alderman, *op.cit.*, p. ix.

³ See L. Gartner 'A Quarter of a Century of Anglo-Jewish Historiography' in *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 48. No. 2., Spring 1986, p 106.

⁴ These include Lloyd Gartner, Todd Endelman and Eugene Black.

⁵ I make this point in my introductory chapter, 'The Jewish Year Book of 5657(1896), A Defence of British Jewry?', which appeared in the facsimile of *The Jewish Year Book 1896*, published by Vallentine Mitchell, in 1996, see pp. xv-xli. The same theme, but with a different approach was used in my chapter on Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth, *Men of Their Times?* in G. Alderman and C. Holmes (eds), *Outsiders and Outcasts*, London, Duckworth, 1993, pp. 94-117.

⁶ J. Picciotto, *Sketches in Anglo-Jewry*, London, 1875. In this instance I take Anglo-Jewish emancipation to have taken place in 1871, with the Promissory Oaths Act, rather than the usually accepted 1858 when Rothschild took his seat in the House of Commons.

⁷ *The Lancet* made its sortie into the Jewish East End in 1884 and was rapidly followed by Board of Trade Investigations and Government Commissions.

⁸ For brief biographical details of Harry Lewis, see L. Gartner, *Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1960, p. 195. In 1901, C. Russell and H. Lewis published *The Jew In London, a Study of Racial Character and Present-day Condition*, London, Fisher & Unwin.

⁹ Russell, a non-Jew, most specifically used the term anti-semitism as opposed to the more widely and less overtly racist 'anti-alienism'. Anti-semitism, meaning 'Jew hatred' was first used in Germany by the German journalist Wilhelm Marr, in 1879.

¹⁰ Russell and Lewis, *op.cit.*, p 36

¹¹ For evidence which proves this belief to have been inaccurate see A.J. Kershen, *Uniting the Tailors*, London, Frank Cass, 1995, p. 101 and A.J. Kershen, 'Morris Cohen and the Origins of the Women's Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End' in *Textile History*, Vol. 28 (1), 1997, pp. 39-46.

- ¹² See reported speeches in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 July 1901 and 19 Sept., 1902.
- ¹³ Russell and Lewis, op.cit., p 234.
- ¹⁴ Russell and Lewis, op.cit., p 187.
- ¹⁵ See R. Burman, 'Jewish Women in Manchester c. 1890-1920', in D. Cesarani (ed), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990, pp. 55-75, and A.J. Kershen in *Uniting* op.cit., pp. 46-8, and A.J. Kershen (ed.), *Off-the-Peg*, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1988, pp. 39-48.
- ¹⁶ See C. Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society*, London, Edward Arnold, 1979, pp. 44-5, 112.
- ¹⁷ D. Feldman, 'The Importance of Being English', in D. Feldman and G. Stedman Jones (eds), *Metropolis London*, London, Routledge, 1989, pp. 56-84.
- ¹⁸ See A.J. Kershen, *Uniting*, op.cit., p 120.
- ¹⁹ C. Roth, *A History of the Jews In England*, Oxford, OUP, (first edition) 1941.
- ²⁰ Alderman, op.cit., p. vii.
- ²¹ For an account of the attitude of British Jewry to the Holocaust during the Second World War, see R. Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993.
- ²² Roth, op.cit., p. 269.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ For the growth of consumerism in the clothing industry see W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, London, Macmillan, 1981, pp. 58-65 and pp. 175-92 and Kershen, *Uniting*, op.cit., pp. 100-2.
- ²⁵ See Roth, op.cit., pp 256-7 and A.J. Kershen (ed.), *150 Years of Progressive Judaism*, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1990, pp. 6-7 and A.J. Kershen and J. Romain, *Tradition and Change, A History of Reform Judaism in Britain*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995, Chapter One.
- ²⁶ See D.Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850*, Oxford, OUP, 1994, p. viii.
- ²⁷ V.D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950*, London, C.A. Watts, 1954, p viii.
- ²⁸ Ibid., pp. 44-5 and pp. 117-8.
- ²⁹ V.D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain Since 1858*, Leicester, LUP, 1990, p. vii.
- ³⁰ A.J. Kershen, *Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring works of London 1872-1915*, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1988 and A.J. Kershen, 'Trade Unionism amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds 1872-1915' in Cesarani, op.cit.
- ³¹ Gartner, op.cit.,
- ³² Gartner, op.cit., p 9.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Kershen, *Uniting*, op.cit., pp. 68-71 and pp. 135-39.
- ³⁵ Gartner, op.cit., p 279.
- ³⁶ C. Bermant, *The Cousinhood*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971.
- ³⁷ For example T. Endelman's, *The Jews of Georgian England*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1979 and T. Endelman, *English Jewish Radical Assimilation, 1656-1945*, Indianapolis, Indiana, University Press, 1990.
- ³⁸ Ibid., pp. 71-9.
- ³⁹ S. Sharot, 'Religious Change in Native orthodoxy in London 1870-1914', in *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15, No. 1, June 1973, pp. 63-74.
- ⁴⁰ R. Liberles, 'The Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, Vol.1., 1976, pp 121-151.
- ⁴¹ S. Singer, 'Jewish Religious Thought in Early Victorian London', *Association for Jewish Studies*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1985, pp. 181-211 and S. Singer, 'Jewish Religious Observance in Early Victorian London', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 1986,
- ⁴² I. Finestein, *Jewish Society in Victorian England*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1993.
- ⁴³ W.J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals*, London, Duckworth, 1975.
- ⁴⁴ Professor Endelman considers that his training in modern Jewish history - eastern and western European from the mid-17th century together with that of the USA and Israel - has enabled him to approach his studies armed with the benefit of comparison and objectivity. (conversation with Todd Endelman, 24 July 1997).
- ⁴⁵ Endleman, *Jews of Georgian*, op.cit., p.x.
- ⁴⁶ Whilst some religious institutions might have chosen not to commission their history from someone who was not 'in the fold', the RSGB felt that my not being a member of the Reform Movement could only benefit my research and writing.
- ⁴⁷ Endelman, *Jews of Georgian* Op.cit., p. 251

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp 192-226.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 159-65.

⁵⁰ Endelman, *Radical Assimilation* op.cit., pp. 52-3, 85, 127, 128, 130.

⁵¹ Some mention should be made of the Jewish Historical Society of England which was founded in 1893, the era of celebratory historians, and which even today maintains its conservative approach. There was great concern when, in 1987, I gave a paper on Jewish trade unionists and even some questions in 1992 when I gave a paper on Reform Judaism, once again a speaker would advertise dissension in the ranks. Gradually, however those who were part of that 'group of new Jewish historians' of the 1980s may inspire a more balanced approach.

⁵² For example, E. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, London, Weidenfeld, 1979 and *Worlds of Labour*, London, Weidenfeld, 1984; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971 and Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, Manchester, MUP, 1976.

⁵³ H. Clegg, *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. 11 1911-1933*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985, H. Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979 edition; S & B Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism, 1666-1920*, London, WEA, 1920.

⁵⁴ W.J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals*, London, Duckworth, 1975, S. Lerner, *Breakaway Trade Unions and Small Trade Unions*, London, 1961, J. Buckman., 'Alien Working-Class Response: the Leeds Jewish Tailors 1880-1914', in K. Lunn (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities*, Folkestone, Wm. Dawson, 1980, pp 222-62 and Bill Williams, 'The Beginning of Jewish Trade Unionism In Manchester', in Lunn, op.cit., pp. 263-307.

⁵⁵ E. Mendelsohn, *Class Struggles in the Pale*, London, CUP, 1970.

⁵⁶ During the period I was a part-time postgraduate M.Phil. student at the University of Warwick.

⁵⁷ Cesarani op.cit., 1990, p 10.

⁵⁸ *Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London 1872-1915*, London, 1988; *Off-the-Peg*, London, 1988; *Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring workers of London and Leeds*, in D. Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford, 1990; *Uniting the Tailors*, London, 1995, 'Morris Cohen and the Origins of the Women's Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End', in *Textile History*, Vol. 28 No. 1., July 1997 and 'Yiddish as a Vehicle for Anglicisation' in Newman and Massil (eds), *Patterns of Migration*, 1996.

⁵⁹ The spatial comparison has centred on London and Leeds, the time-span of the research has extended between 1685 and 1995 and the ethnic groups include Jews, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

⁶⁰ C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, London, Eversley, 1881 edition, W. Besant, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1905 and I. Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto*, London, Heinemann, 1893.

⁶¹ This theme is explored in A.J. Kershen 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth Men of their Times', in G. Alderman and C. Holmes (eds), *Outsiders and Outcasts*, London, Duckworth, 1993.

⁶² See A.J. Kershen, 'Higher Education in the London Community', in R. Floud and S. Glynn (eds), *London Higher*, London, Athlone Press, forthcoming, early 1998.

⁶³ For a full list see bibliography in A.J.Kershen, *Uniting...op.cit.*, pp 213-15.

⁶⁴ A.J. Kershen and J.A. Romain, *Tradition and Change*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995, pp. 82-5.

⁶⁵ Details of these companies can be found in *Uniting the Tailors*, Chapter Two, *Off-The-Peg* and in Morris Cohen's Contribution to the Origins of the Women's Wholesale Clothing Industry in the East End'.

⁶⁶ Kershen, 'Morris Cohen', op.cit.

⁶⁷ Kershen, *Uniting the Tailors*, op.cit., Chapter Three.

⁶⁸ In 1988 I was fortunate to be given the opportunity to purchase a bound volume of the 1906 editions of the *Arbeiter Fraint*. Having this archive on my shelf made reference to copies of the paper for that climactic year in Jewish and English trade union history far simpler.

⁶⁹ A.J. Kershen, 'Yiddish as a Means of Anglicisation' in S. Massil and A. Newman, *Patterns of Migration*, London, Jewish Historical Society, 1996, pp. 59-68.

⁷⁰ Some of this research was expanded and developed for my chapter 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields and the Spirit of Capitalism', which appeared in A.J. Kershen, *London the Promised Land? The Immigrant Experience in a Capital City*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1997, pp. 66-90.

- ⁷¹ *150 Years of Progressive Judaism*, London, London Museum of Jewish Life, 1990, particularly pp. 2 and 5-16. 'Convenience or Ideology? the Origins of Reform Judaism in Britain', in *The Jewish Quarterly*, summer 1992, pp. 55-9, *Tradition and Change, A History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995, Part One, pp. 3-127.
- ⁷² Kershen, *150 Years* op.cit., p. 14 and Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, op.cit., p. 97.
- ⁷³ A. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, London, Methuen, 1951.
- ⁷⁴ For a detailed list see the bibliography in *Tradition and Change* pp. 368-75.
- ⁷⁵ Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, op.cit.
- ⁷⁶ For further details see *Tradition and Change*, op.cit., Chapter Three.
- ⁷⁷ S. Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, London, Frank Cass, 1992 and S. Cohen, *English Zionists and British Jews*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982.
- ⁷⁸ 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth: Men of their Times?' in G. Alderman and C. Holmes, op.cit., and 'The Jewish Year Book 1896: A Defence of British Jewry?' in the *Facsimile Edition of the first Jewish Year Book*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1996.
- ⁷⁹ Kershen, 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth...', op.cit., p. 94.
- ⁸⁰ Kershen, 'The Jewish Year Book 1896, a Defence of British Jewry', pp xv-xvi.
- ⁸¹ A.J. Kershen, 'The Jewish Community' in N. Merriman (ed.), *The Peopling of London*, London, Museum of London, 1993, (included in this section as it formed part of a work which looked at the diverse and long time history of London's immigrant community. A.J. Kershen, 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields and the Spirit of Capitalism', in A.J. Kershen, (ed.), *London the Promised Land? The Migrant Experience in a Capital City*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1997, pp. 66-90; A.J. Kershen, 'Higher Education within the London Community', in R. Floud and S. Glynn (eds.), *London Higher*, London, Athlone Press, February/March 1988.
- ⁸² A similar, but more recent account was provided by myself for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* CD Rom edition which has just become available.
- ⁸³ A common cry from certain members of the Jewish community who believed that the Jewish experience had always been one of successful self-employment.
- ⁸⁴ H. Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, London, Littman Press, 1982, p.247.
- ⁸⁵ As Cesarani noted in his introduction, in common with several other contributors to the volume, mine was taken from original research and part of work in progress. Cesarani, op.cit., p. 11.
- ⁸⁶ J. Buckman, 'Alien Working Class Responses: the Leeds Jewish Tailors 1880-1914', Lunn op.cit., p. 253.
- ⁸⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 March 1995.
- ⁸⁸ A.J. Kershen, *Uniting the Tailors*, op.cit., p. xix.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.
- ⁹⁰ Buckman, op.cit., p. 115.
- ⁹¹ S. & B. Webb, op.cit., p. 551.
- ⁹² Clegg, op.cit., p. 305.
- ⁹³ L. Hunter and M. Stewart, *The Needle is Threaded*, London, 1964.
- ⁹⁴ See K. Laybourn, *A History of British Trade Unionism 1770-1990*, Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1992.
- ⁹⁵ Sam Freedman's story came to light with the discovery of the Amalgamated Jewish Tailors' Machinists' and Pressers' Union's Minute book for 1905-7.
- ⁹⁶ Details from his daughter and his scrapbook and memorabilia presented to me by the secretary of the NUTGW when it fused with the GMB in 1992.
- ⁹⁷ In the pages of the *Yorkshire Factory Times*.
- ⁹⁸ Interviews with his daughter in 1989/90 and details from the family scrapbooks.
- ⁹⁹ M. Frankel, in *RAS Journal*, July 1996, p. 89.
- ¹⁰⁰ These, plus *Off-The-Peg*, are drawn on by Katerina Honeyman in her forthcoming, *From Rags to Rags A History of the Leeds Clothing Industry*.
- ¹⁰¹ A. Godley in *Business History*, January 1996, pp. 135-6.
- ¹⁰² See below for a consideration of the way in which concepts of identity appear as themes in nearly all the published works.
- ¹⁰³ Dan Weinbren in *Labour History Review*, Vol.60, No.2, Autumn 1995, p. 134.
- ¹⁰⁴ For example, K. Honeyman in her forthcoming, *From Rags to Rags - a History of the Leeds Clothing Industry*, refers to *Off-the-Peg*, as well as *Uniting the Tailors* and the chapter in Cesarani, *Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, whilst reference to monograph will appear in Nancy Green's forthcoming book on Jewish documents.

¹⁰⁵ *The Costume Society*, 1994, p 139.

¹⁰⁶ I was most fortunate to meet Cohen's grandson in 1988. He was ignorant of his grandfather's contribution to the clothing industry and laughingly told me it was rumoured that he had been the first wholesale mantle maker in Britain, an achievement the family had not believed. It was through Clive Moss that I was able to learn more about Cohen the man, his entrepreneurial activities, his property and other business interests and the company's demise after his death.

¹⁰⁷ David Feldman in his excellent *Englishmen and Jews*, London, Yale University Press, 1994 (the work was in preparation at the same time as *Uniting the Tailors* and Feldman and I had had discussions in the past on the industry and its work force) refers briefly to Cohen using the 1903 Royal Commission on Aliens as the source. See Feldman, op.cit., p. 176

¹⁰⁸ A. Godley, 'Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship', in A. Godley and O. Westall (eds), *Business History and Business Culture*, Manchester, MUP, 1996, p. 226.

¹⁰⁹ This has formed the essence of debate and dissension at a number of conferences I have attended at which those who experienced the East End in the 1920s and 1930s confronted those have only written about those times.

¹¹⁰ Interview with H. Rothenberg, January, 1992.

¹¹¹ Fishman, op.cit., Gartner op.cit., Kershen, *Uniting* op.cit., and Kershen, 'Yiddish as' op.cit., pp. 63-4.

¹¹² I was asked to provide the text of the essay within a month of giving the paper. i.e., September 1993. There followed a number of problems in relation of editorship and publication and I was never given the opportunity, at any stage, to proof read or amend, a task which I accept was needed and from which the work would have benefited.

¹¹³ Gartner, op.cit., p 239-240, R. Livishin, 'the Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in Cesarani, op.cit., pp. 79-96.

¹¹⁴ N. Green, *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work*, N. Carolina, Duke University Press, 1997, p. 364.

¹¹⁵ Godley & Westall, op.cit. pp. 222-40.

¹¹⁶ N. Green, 'A Tale of Three Cities, Immigrant Jews In London, Paris and New York, 1870-1914', in Massil and Newman, op.cit., pp. 81-98.

¹¹⁷ N. Green, *Ready-to-Wear*, op.cit., for London see pages 32, 172.

¹¹⁸ R Waldinger and A. Phazacklea, 'Business on the Ragged Edge; Immigrant and Minority Business in the Garment Industries of Paris, London and New York, in R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich and R. Ward (eds), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs; Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, California, Sage Press, 1990, pp. 157-76.

¹¹⁹ For example, J. Lewis, *Women In England*, Sussex, Indiana University Press, 1984; J. Lewis, *Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1914*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, J. Morris, *Women Workers and the Sweated Trades*, Aldershot, Gower Publishing, 1986; E.M. Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984; E. Ross, 'Married Life in Working Class London, 1870-1914', in Feldman and Jones, op.cit., pp. 219-44; M. Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and Be Still*, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1977, M. Vincinus, *Independent Women*, London, Virago, 1985.

¹²⁰ T.Kushner, *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, London, Frank Cass, 1992, p. 21.

¹²¹ R.Burman, op.cit., and L. Marks, 'The Marginalized Heritage of Jewish Women in Britain, in T. Kushner, op.cit., pp. 106-27.

¹²² Interview carried out by A.J. Kershen, September, 1988.

¹²³ Russell and Lewis, op.cit., p 59.

¹²⁴ See forthcoming A.J. Kershen (ed.), *A Question of Identity*.

¹²⁵ A.R. Heinze, *Adapting to Abundance*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990.

¹²⁶ It is highly significant that, to date, no comprehensive work on Jewish life in Britain during the interwar years has yet been published, this is in stark contrast to American historiography. Deborah Dash Moor's, *At Home in America*, New York, 1981, charts the movement to the suburbs and the accompanying changes in social, domestic and religious life. In 1990 I researched and mounted an exhibition for the London Museum of Jewish Life, which took a pictorial view of the movement of some members of the East End Jewish community to the suburbs over the past 50 years. The exhibition was entitled, *From Ridley Road to Radlett*.

¹²⁷ The histories of the Federation of Synagogues (Alderman, 1987) and United Synagogue (Newman, 1977) had been very much institutionally based although the former had used the framework of the changing face of the Jewish East End and the suburbanisation of the London Jewry as the framework for his work.

¹²⁸ Rabbi Romain also had an interest in British Jewish history, see J. Romain, *The Jews of England*, London, Michael Goulston Foundation, 1985.

¹²⁹ The birth of Liberal Judaism postdates the period covered by works on Reform and mid-Victorian religiosity published by Sharot, op.cit., S. Singer op.cit., and Liberles, op.cit. Confirmation of the need for more published work on Liberal Judaism can be found in Professor Endleman's urgent request for a copy of *150 Years of Progressive Judaism* to help with research he was carrying out several years ago. I believe that the Liberal Movement is intending to publish its history some time early in the next century.

¹³⁰ S. Brook, *The Club*, London, Constable, 1989, p 116.

¹³¹ M. Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain, 1840-1970' in D. Marmur (ed.), *Reform Judaism: Essays on Reform Judaism in Britain*, London, 1973, pp. 15-40.

¹³² S. Singer, 'Jewish Religious Thought in Early Victorian London', in *AJS Review*, Vol. X, No. 2. 1985, pp. 181-211.

¹³³ Feldman, *Englishmen...* op.cit., p. 57-58.

¹³⁴ M. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, Oxford, OUP, 1988, pp. 171-80.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 435-7.

¹³⁶ Feldman, *Englishmen...* op.cit., p. 51.

¹³⁷ Kershen & Romain, op.cit., pp. 15-18.

¹³⁸ Feldman, *Englishmen...* op.cit., p. 33.

¹³⁹ For one view of Isaac Goldsmid's role in the emancipation-Reform Judaism connection see. G. Alderman, op.cit., pp 56-58.

¹⁴⁰ M.C.N. Salbstein, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*, London, Associated University Presses, 1982, p. 94.

¹⁴¹ Kershen and Romain, op.cit., p. 54.

¹⁴² Julia Neuberger in *Times Educational Supplement*, 27 Oct. 1995.

¹⁴³ I. Finestein, op.cit., pp. 54-77.

¹⁴⁴ See the acknowledgement of this in the review by H. Pollins in *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. xxxviii, No. 1, 1996, pp. 52-5.

¹⁴⁵ D. Cesarani, in *Times Educational Supplement*, 7 June 1996.

¹⁴⁶ A.J. Kershen, 'Henry Mayhew...', op.cit., p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ See, A. Humphreys, *Travels into the Poor Man's Country*, Sussex, Caliban, 1977; E.P. Thompson and E. Yeo, *The Unknown Mayhew*, New York, Pantheon, 1971, G. Himmelfarb, 'The Culture of Poverty', in *the Idea of Poverty*, London, Faber and Faber, 1985 and T.S. Simey and M.B. Simey, *Charles Booth Social Scientist*, London, OUP, 1960.

¹⁴⁸ D. Englander and R. O'Day, *Retrieved Riches*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1995. p. 32

¹⁴⁹ R. Porter, *London A Social History*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1994, p. 403. W. Parsons, *Public Policy*, Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 1995, p. 92.

¹⁵⁰ D. Englander, 'Comparisons and Contrasts', in *Retrieved Riches*, op.cit, see p. 116 and note 39 on p. 138.

¹⁵¹ Parsons, acknowledges this and qualifies his belief by quoting from A.J. Kershen, 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth....' in Alderman and Holmes op.cit., p 93.

¹⁵² T.S. & M.B. Simey, op.cit.

¹⁵³ C. Booth, 'A Discussion on Socialism.' Handwritten unpublished paper dated 1879, Palaeography Room, Booth Archives, Senate House, University of London.

¹⁵⁴ Alderman and Holmes, op.cit., p. 117.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., P. 99.

¹⁵⁶ D. Englander, 'Booth's Jews' in *Retrieved Riches*, op.cit., pp. 288-319. See also R. O'Day, and D. Englander *Mr. Charles Booth's Inquiry Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered*, London, Hambledon, 1993.

¹⁵⁷ *The Jerusalem Post Literary Supplement*, 12 September, 1996.

¹⁵⁸ D. Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, p. 106.

¹⁵⁹ For an account of the way in which The Jewish Lads Brigade set out to 'iron out the ghetto bends', see S. Kadish, *A Good Jew and an Englishman*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995,

¹⁶⁰ Englander and O'Day op.cit., and J. Efron, *Defenders of Race*, New York, Yale, 1994, Chapter four.

¹⁶¹ See N. Merriman(ed.), *The Peopling of London*, London, Museum of London, 1993, p ix.

- ¹⁶² C. Holmes, 'Cosmopolitan London', in A.J. Kershen (ed.), *London the Promised Land*, op.cit., p. 27.
- ¹⁶³ See R. Porter, *London A Social History*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1994.
- ¹⁶⁴ N. Merriman (ed.), op.cit., pp. 138-147.
- ¹⁶⁵ A.J. Kershen, 'Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields and the Spirit of Capitalism', in A.J. Kershen (ed.), *London* op.cit., pp. 66-90. A.J. Kershen, 'Higher Education in the London Community', in R. Floud and S. Glynn (eds), *London Higher*, London, Athlone, February/March 1988.
- ¹⁶⁶ T. Kushner (ed.), *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, London, Frank Cass, 1992.
- ¹⁶⁷ N. Merriman, op.cit., p ix.
- ¹⁶⁸ Statistics on the estimated numbers of Jews in Britain in 1992 were provided by Marlena Schmoool Director of the Statistical and Demographic Unit at the Board of Deputies of British Jews. For anti-semitism see Institute of Jewish Affairs, *Anti-Semitism World Report 1992*, London, 1992.
- ¹⁶⁹ This is explored in more detail in the chapter, see A.J. Kershen (ed.), *London the Promised Land?* op.cit., pp 66, 83-6.
- ¹⁷⁰ It is impossible to provide a comprehensive list in the space available in this essay nor, arguably is it strictly relevant to the central thrust of this work as so much of the literature has been in the context of the 'race relations business', but the following represent a selection of those which have been of value in comparing and contrasting the Jewish and New Commonwealth experience. R. Cohen, *Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995; Z. Layton-Henry, *the Politics of Race in Britain*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1984; J. Walvin, *Between Two Cultures*, London, 1977; J. Rex, *Race & Ethnicity*, Milton Keynes, Open University, 1986.
- ¹⁷¹ C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, London, Macmillan, 1988.
- ¹⁷² If mentioned at all, it was either in a footnote or in one or two lines. See for example, S. Saggat, *Race and Politics in Britain*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, pp. 23, 49.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid, pp. 24-30.
- ¹⁷⁴ Green, *Ready-to-Wear*, op.cit., p 8.
- ¹⁷⁵ Kershen, *London the Promised Land?* op.cit., p 67-8.
- ¹⁷⁶ K. Gardner, *Global Migrants*, Oxford, OUP, 1995, p.234.
- ¹⁷⁷ At a recent workshop held for young Bangladeshis in East London at Queen Mary and Westfield College on 19th June 1996, it was evident that a number of them are achieving both academically and professionally.
- ¹⁷⁸ The book is now with Athlone Press Ltd. and is due for publication no later than March 1998.
- ¹⁷⁹ As the chapter explains the People's Palace eventually became Queen Mary and Westfield College.
- ¹⁸⁰ For references for literature on education and histories of QMW, see attached 'Higher Education in the London Community'.
- ¹⁸¹ See note 2 in the chapter 'Higher Education In The London Community' for a wider account of the nomenclature 'working class'.
- ¹⁸² D. Goldberg & M. Krausz (eds), *Jewish Identity*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1993, pp. 2, 5.
- ¹⁸³ R. Ballard, 'Negotiating Race and Ethnicity: Exploring the Implications of the 1991 Census', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 30, no. 3, 1996, p. 21.
- ¹⁸⁴ For a consideration of the Jewish diaspora in the global context, see R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, London, UCL Press, 1997.
- ¹⁸⁵ Someone who came from the same town or village in eastern Europe.
- ¹⁸⁶ Kershen, *Uniting*, op.cit., p. 91.
- ¹⁸⁷ Kershen and Romain, op.cit., pp. 13, 116-20.
- ¹⁸⁸ A. Montefiore, 'Structures of Personal Identity', in Goldberg and Katz, op.cit., p. 216.
- ¹⁸⁹ See C. Diamond, 'Sahibs and Jews', in ibid., p. 101.
- ¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Kershen and Romain, op.cit., p 116.
- ¹⁹¹ I am in the process of editing a volume which deals with this topic and which will appear in 1998 under the title, *A Question of Identity*.
- ¹⁹² Quoted in W. Parsons, op.cit., xv.
- ¹⁹³ In the context of more recent Jewish immigration attitudes towards the entry of refugees from Nazism has been addressed by Louise London in 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy 1930-1940, in D. Cesarani (ed), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, op.cit., pp. 163-190; T. Kushner, *Persistence of Prejudice*, Manchester, MUP, 1989.

¹⁹⁴ G. Black, *Lender to the Lords, Giver to the Poor*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1992, locates the Jewish philanthropy of Lewis within the context of the British aristocracy.

¹⁹⁵ G. Alderman, op.cit., p. viii.

¹⁹⁶ E. Black, op.cit., pp. 67-8 and 200-10.

¹⁹⁷ G. Alderman review in *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 15. No. 3 (1996), pp. 296-8.

¹⁹⁸ W. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English-speaking World: Great Britain*, Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996, p. 27.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 91 and 239.

²⁰⁰ L. London, op.cit.

²⁰¹ R. Bolchover, op.cit., T. Kushner, op.cit., T. Linehan, *East London for Mosley*, London, Frank Cass, 1996; H. Srebrnik, *London Jews and British Communism, 1939-1945*, London, Vallentine Mitchell, 1995.

²⁰² R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, London, UCL Press, 1997.

²⁰³ I have not included a list of citations but what follows is just a selection of historians (of which I am aware), who have either directly quoted my work or referred to it. G. Alderman, G. Black, D. Cesarani, T. Endelman, D. Englander, D. Feldman, , N. Green, A. Godley, K. Honeyman, S. Kadish, V. Lipman, W. Parsons, W. Rubinstein, H. Srebrnik.

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*More extensive bibliographies are to be found at the back of *Uniting the Tailors* and attached to Part One of *Tradition and Change*.